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THE

MYSTERIES OF THE VATICAN:

OR,

CRIMES OF THE PAPACY.

FROM THE GERMAN OF DR. THEODOR GRIESINGER.

TRANSLATED BY

E. S.

"Ed or discerno perchè dal retaggio
Li figli de Levì furono esenti."
DANTE, canto xvi., del Purgatorio

"Ahi, Costantin, di quanto mal fu matre
Non la tua conversion, ma quella dote,
Che da te prese il primo ricco Patre!"
Canto xix., del' Inferno.

"And now do I perceive why Levi's sons
Received no part in Canaan's portioned land."

"How vast the evil wrought, oh, Constantine,
Not thy conversion, but the fatal dower
That from thy hand the first rich Patre took!"

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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BOOK IV.

POPE AND CHRISTIAN CHARITY.

"A very effectual way of silencing an opponent is to tear out his tongue. It is good if one addeth thereto the cutting off his hands, so that his speaking and writing, too, withal shall come to an end. But the most effectual way to close all controversy is, indeed, to kill him without further delay, by fire or rope, or other suitable means."—*Jesuit Morality.*

"I am resolved that every one in my kingdom shall be free to save his soul in his own fashion."—*Frederick the Great.*

MYSTERIES OF THE VATICAN.

CHAPTER I.

WALDENSIANS.—EARLIEST HERETICS.

The doctrines of Christianity were inherited from Christ and the apostles in anything but a definite or systematised form; and thus, as we have seen in the earliest centuries after Christ's death, bitter controversies arose on the interpretation of this or that article of faith. The canonical observances of the primitive church were still more vague than its dogma; and, indeed, first came into existence under the followers of the apostles. This process of development did not always proceed quite smoothly; the faithful and their spiritual guides very frequently made the laws by which the church should be governed a matter of serious disagreement. Little by little, however, Roman catholic discipline and dogma attained their present form; and by the ninth century the papacy had already reached its full and complete

development. The pope was autocrat of all Christendom; his power greater than any other potentate in the eastern or western world. A temporal despot must rest content if the acts of his subjects are moulded to his will; whilst the apostolic throne demanded men's obedience not only in what they did, but in what they thought. Christianity, or its doctrines, were no longer the point at issue;—the thoughts and labours of the popes were centred in the peculiar gospel of which Rome was the great centre, and whence, indeed, it was called "Roman Catholic." All spiritual interests were made to revolve round the pope, and his decrees were recognised as irrefragable law. He was not merely the head of the church, but rather the personification of the church; and, as Louis XIV. declared: "L'etât c'est moi," the Holy Father might as justly have said: "I am the church."* Under this doctrine, every offence against the pope, every attack by the temporal power on the papacy, was a sacrilege,—an attack upon religion. And he who, for political reasons, was placed under the church ban, was at the same time denounced at Rome as a heretic, a renegade from the true faith. We may hence see how easy it was to fall into the sin of heresy: it needed but to act in a manner displeasing to the pope and his clergy, and a heavy sin against the incarnate deity of Rome was committed, involving the offender in all the penalties of excommunication.

* The papal policy remained the same through each successive century, and remains so to the present day. Do not the Ultramontanes denounce every infringement on papal prerogative as an attack on religion itself, and persistently identify the pope with Christianity?

Although the pope was endowed with a power so vast, that even the mightiest monarch on earth trembled before him and his mercenaries, the priests, secular and regular, swarmed over the world, and were ready to call every offender to a speedy reckoning, who in never so slight a degree sinned against Roman catholicism, and those against whom mere suspicion of the deadly crime was entertained. Yet, we repeat, at the time when papal despotism was at its very height, there were men who dared rudely shake the vast fabric, raised by falsehood and ambition,—dared attack, not only the dogmas of Roman catholicism, but the Roman hierarchy, in its very foundations. It might be supposed, that the terror of papal omnipotence and its merciless employment, would have restrained all men from acting in a manner that might give umbrage to Rome. If we imagine ourselves placed in those ages; if we recal their barbarism, ignorance; their debased morality, and the general licentiousness in which the whole priesthood was steeped; the notorious fact that, with the rarest exceptions, all the higher dignitaries of the church had no care but for the increase of their own worldly possessions, whilst their lives were in monstrous contradiction to their assumed sanctity; if we remember that the whole of the laity,—men and women, kings, nobles, serfs,—knew nothing of Christian teaching, but as a mere ceremonial worship, with its pilgrimage-making and adoration of saints;—if we realise these things, we cannot feel surprised that at length men arose to protest, with indignant horror, against the corruption into which the world had fallen. The papacy had drawn its circle of deadly magic round

all Christendom; and for the very reason it was so shameless an exercise of foul necromancy, a consciousness was awakened in men's hearts that its power was not from heaven; that it behoved them to cast off its glamour,—resist it as they would resist antichrist.

The controversy on image-worship,—a controversy which ended in the papal decrees, commanding the universal worship of images,—aroused no little discontent among the faithful. Christians were thenceforth exposed to the sneers of Jews and Mohammedans, who declared them Mariolaters,—adorers of stone and wood, like the heathen of old. The sneer was bitter, but not less bitter than true, and set many men to ask themselves whether this fetishism had any foundation in primitive Christianity. Such speculations led those who entered on them still further; and many were convinced that the Roman catholic church prescribed things quite extraneous to Christ's doctrines, or the usages of apostolic times. How many were led to this view, we have now no means of judging, though history has preserved the names of three, especially, among them; and their words and actions may be regarded as the earliest indications we possess of the subsequent great Protestant heresy. Agobard of Lyon, Cladius of Turin, and Beringar of Tours, constituted the famous triad. The first was born in the reign of Charlemagne, and early attained the dignity of the episcopal office in the metropolitan diocese of Lyon, where he played no unimportant part in the time of King Louis the Pious. For our present purpose, his proceedings only concerns us from the fact, that he renounced all ceremonial rites, openly declaring

the devil himself had introduced the new-fangled ways, so that men might be drawn from the spiritual worship of God into a mere fleshly and sensuous one. Such a declaration was, of course, rank heresy; for the Roman bishops had already pronounced the ban against all persons who should oppose image-worship. Happily, for Agobard, the papal arm did not reach so far as in later times; and moreover, the Lyonese bishop only attacked one abuse,—in all other matters he conformed to the laws of the church. He was not alone spared all persecution for his opinions, but raised, after death, to place among the saints as the Holy Agobbio.

His contemporary, Claudius of Turin, so called from having been raised by Louis the Pious to the episcopal see of that city, went much further in his heterodoxy. He addressed a pastoral letter to the clergy of his diocese, in which he not only positively condemned image worship, but even the doctrine of saintly intercession. All pictures were removed from the churches of his diocese. He preached against pilgrimages, founding his teaching solely on that of the New Testament. A vast multitude of followers embraced his views, and the popular movement thus excited spread through all Piedmont, and even penetrated to the south of France. Claudius was, notwithstanding, suffered to die in peace; for though the bishop of Rome, Eugenius II., called on the Emperor Louis to proceed against the heretical bishop, his majesty was so fully convinced of the good qualities of Claudius, that he declined compliance, nor would allow the followers of the Reformer to be in manner molested for their opinions.

A heretic of a very different type was Beringar of Tours, a Professor of the School of Philosophy there, and archdeacon of Angers. About this time (1040) the dogma of transubstantiation was first promulgated, and both the popes and their subservient priesthood welcomed it with delight, it so greatly enhanced their importance and prerogatives. Thenceforth the priestly function of "creating" the body of the Lord became generally recognised; and it might not illogically have been maintained, that the priest, being able to make God as often as he was so minded, must necessarily be greater than God. But, however much the Catholic church strove to establish the new dogma throughout Christendom, it still, especially in France, met with very resolute opponents. Among these Beringar was, perhaps, the most distinguished, by the logical acumen of his reasoning. He boldly declared "the sacramental bread and wine were but the outward symbols, whilst any actual change in their nature could not for a moment be reasonably maintained." This temerity caused Bishop Leo IX. to cite Beringar before the episcopal judgment seat at Rome, and his refused obedience to the summons brought down (anno 1050) the papal anathema on his head, "in contumaciam;" he remained, however, regardless of it, under the protection of the king of France, at Tours.

Pope Nicholas II., nine years later, repeated the citation. Beringar, no longer in a position to defy the command, was ultimately obliged to retract his doctrines, in order to avoid death at the stake. Only after making a new declaration of faith, and swearing he would thenceforth believe the wine and bread actually

"transubstantiated" into the body and blood of the Saviour, was he set at liberty. Scarcely had Bishop Beringar, however, returned to France, than he retracted the recantation to which he had been compelled against his will; confident, that at Tours, King Louis would protect him from the strong arm of the pope. He, however, was cruelly deceived; for, when in 1107, the mighty Gregory VII. mounted the papal throne, the heterodox bishop was once more seized, and would assuredly have lost his life, if he had not preferred to deny his opinions a second time. Then, to avoid all future chance of unpleasant acquaintanceship with the executioner, Beringar retired to the island of Cosmos, near Tours, where he lived in complete obscurity and tranquillity, until his death, in 1083.

Thus much we know of these three celebrated men, who, moreover, did not act in all probability without a certain amount of mutual confidence and moral support. They had many colleagues, who embraced their views, and a vast number of disciples; so that during their lives the "poisonous weed" of heresy spread fast over North Italy, and the south of France. What were the actual doctrines of these heretics our informants do not say; they merely declare, "It hath come to the knowledge of the church, that many in those parts do not share the true Roman Catholic faith." Manichœans is the name given the heretics; not, however, that they shared the opinions of the early Gnostics, but simply because the word was then employed as "heretic" now is. A Manichœan was one who did not subscribe to the doc-

trines of the church of Rome, and was therefore liable to death; for the Roman church of the fifth century had passed sentence of capital punishment on all Manichœans, and therefore many dignitaries of the hierarchy in the tenth, were zealously desirous of proceeding against the new dissidents without delay, cutting them off, root and branch. It appears a good deal of tolerance was still granted them, however, though by the eleventh century a very different policy was adopted.

In 1017, under the pontificate of Pope Benedict VIII., a presbyter of Rheims accused Herebert and Lisoius, very popular priests of that city, of heretical opinions. The pope, and the king of France, after hearing the charge, ordained the offenders should be judged by a synod, to be held at Orleans. Herebert and Lisoius, with thirteen of their followers, were cited to appear, and render an account of their opinions. They obeyed; and as the contemporary historian, Rudolph (who was minutely acquainted with all the affairs of the Apostolic see) informs us, set forth their belief with so much clearness and good sense, that the assembled prelates were quite unable to refute it; yet the whole fifteen, on refusing to recant, were publicly burnt at the stake.

These were the first heretics who expiated their offence in the flames. Of the exact character of their heterodoxy very little is known, except that they renounced the whole ceremonial worship of the dominant church, and protested against the rites adopted by it. Doubtless, their views were closely allied to those professed by

Claudius of Turin two hundred years earlier, but by Orlean's synodial edicts they were denounced as heretics, and condemned to death at the stake.

It was, doubtless, anticipated by the orthodox party, that their fate would effectually put a stop to heresy; but the actual result was, strangely, to defeat all such expectations. In 1025, Bishop Gerard of Arras summoned a synod, to consider the necessary steps required for staying the growing evil of heresy. The offenders, in this case, declared their belief (derived from an Italian named Gandolfo) incapable of being controverted, and the only true faith, founded as it was on the Bible.

The bishop gave himself no trouble to refute their assertion; but as the accused persons held doctrines at variance with those of the church, he had them all burnt, as the fifteen had been at Orleans. Still, heresy was not suppressed; it spread, ever wider and wider, as we see by the synod held at Toulouse in 1059, when not only the ban of the church was pronounced against all heretics personally, but against all persons in any way connected with them, or who gave them any protection or succour. Heresy was now confessedly made to consist in opposition to saint and image-worship; in zeal against the profligacy of the priesthood and monks; in the disbelief in salvation by good works. (pilgrimages, church building, &c.); and, most flagrantly, in the assertion that the then teaching of the catholic church was no longer in accordance with Christ's. No wonder, therefore, the bishops and the popes opposed such doctrines with all the power at their command; for their overthrow was, indeed, a question of the most vital import, the more so

when it was evident the professors of this heterodoxy formed an organised sect. This sect included two subdivisions,—the so-called *credentes* and the *perfecti*, or electi (the perfected or elected); the latter assumed the duty of preaching the gospel to their brethren, or were ready to prove their devotion to their faith by their death, if need were.

Yet this process of "uprooting" was not to be so readily effected as the papal party imagined; for when, here or there, a dozen or two heretics had been burnt, the "perfecti," who spread over the length and breadth of the land, found ten new converts for every one thus sacrificed. Heresy, disclaiming its former denomination of Manichœanism, now assumed a distinct title,—the best indication its object had become clearly defined. Waldenses the heretics called themselves. Their origin has been thus accounted for. In the first half of the twelfth century, under the pontificate of Pope Innocent II., a wealthy man, named Petrus Waldo, or de Waldo, residing in Rome, employed a certain Stephen, a catholic priest, to translate the New Testament. Petrus then devoted himself to the study of the scriptures in the most zealous manner, and was so deeply impressed that he sold the whole of his possessions and distributed the money among the poor. He then commenced preaching the gospel, but soon came in conflict with the catholic priesthood. He was then excommunicated, and obliged to save himself from worse consequences by flight. But though the whole hierarchy was in arms against him, and the pope cited him to appear for judgment at Rome, he still continued to preach and teach as fervently as

before; and a multitude of devotees soon attached themselves to his cause, and in his honour assumed the name Waldenses. So runs the tradition; but the tradition is mere myth, for the pretended Waldo never existed, nor is there any place in France so designated. The story, doubtless, arose from the fact, that the chronicler, Petrus von Pilichdorf, who wrote a great book in the thirteenth century, on the Waldenses, especially signalises among the members of the sect a certain Petrus, whom he further distinguishes by the cognomen, Waldensis. Thence the readers of his work concluded that his favourite hero was the founder of the sect, and so gradually built up the romantic story attached to his name with that regardlessness of actual facts, so characteristic of early history. The truth is, the name, Waldensis, was already known in the eleventh century, and that Petrus von Pilichdorf merely calls the Petrus he writes of, "Waldensis," because he was famous among the Waldenses, who originally, indeed, had not been so called, contemporary writers speaking of them, on their first appearance, as "Valensis," or "Vaudois," or "Wadoys,"—all these denominations taking their rise from *val* or *vaux*, and signifying simply "people of the valley;" inhabitants, doubtless, of the Piedmontese valleys, who had adopted the teaching of Claudius of Turin with peculiar enthusiasm, preserving it intact the whole intervening period from his death.

There is now no doubt but that the Waldenses arose in this manner, though we have much less certainty of the actual nature of their creed, possessing, as we do, scarcely any written evidence on the subject. Yet even in this

we may approximate to certainty, with little difficulty, if we keep in mind that at least in the earlier stages of its development only the poorest and least educated of the population attached themselves to the new teaching. The Waldenses were but humble, simple-hearted folks, and their faith was equally unpretending. Of a theological system, or defined dogma, there can be no question in their case; they possessed, however, an Italian translation of the scriptures, and almost every family boasted a copy of the precious work. They deduced their whole rule of faith from it, and directed all their religious inspirations to the realisation of apostolic Christianity. They, therefore, renounced all the practices adopted into the catholic church since it had become a state religion; and even declared that catholicism, as developed since the days of the Roman bishop, Sylvester, a fabrication, essentially unchristian in tendency. For this, too, the priesthood or clergy was especially offensive to them, for it had destroyed the purity of the primitive faith; whilst its members adopted a manner of life at direct disaccord with the doctrines of Christianity. For this, too, the head of the priesthood, the Roman pontiff, was an abomination in their eyes, and they not seldom designated him the Baal of Babel, and Antichrist.

Under these circumstances, it may easily be supposed the clergy would feel little tolerance towards the heretics, although they lived quite inoffensively and peaceably in the Piedmontese valleys, and avoided all offence to their catholic neighbours.

The anger of the Catholic priesthood was chiefly ex-

cited by the Waldensian "Messengers of faith" so called, who presumed to openly preach the gospel to the masses. Papal ecclesiastical history speaks with peculiar rancour of two of these men, Peter and Henry de Bruys, whom it especially denominates as heresiarchs, "princes of heresy." They had left Italy for France at the commencement of the twelfth century, and are supposed to have been fugitive monks; they, probably, were members of the "perfecti," whose chief duty was the dissemination of the gospel. Strangely enough very little is recorded of their lives; indeed, of Peter we know scarcely more than that he was murdered by a Catholic mob excited against him by the priests. Henry's history has reached us somewhat more in detail; we are told he preached the faith in Sausonne, Mons, Perigueux, Bordeaux, Arles, Poitier, and especially at Toulouse; nor did he do so with any secrecy; a multitude of followers attended him, the fame of his piety spread abroad; he generally entered a city at the head of a vast procession gathered in his honour, and preceded by a large cross he had borne before him, so that by many he was regarded as a zealous Catholic. Under such circumstances he could not fail of hearers; the novelty of the spectacle was sufficient to collect the people round him, who, as the bishop Herebert of Mons tells us, were often joined by their priests. The same prelate records having seen on a certain occasion not only women bemoaning the sinfulness of their lives at the feet of the missionary, but even members of the Catholic clergy, in the same public manner, deploring with sobs and moans their backslidings and evil deeds.

Bishop Herebert, however, and the majority of his colleagues had no such satisfaction in the said sermon, for, immediately after hearing it, he started for Rome to confer with Eugenius III. on the unsatisfactory aspect of the religious interest in the south of France, and Eugenius at once despatched Cardinal Alberino de Ostia charged with the task of putting an end to the Waldensian scandals. The cardinal proceeded on his mission in the full pomp of his office, and accompanied by many of the most eloquent of the priesthood, the famous Bernard de Clairvaux among them, taking all the cities and districts on his way most infected with the heresy.* He lost no time in adopting energetic measures against Henry de Buys and several of his colleagues, when, having secured their persons, he at once left for Italy, where, though we have no positive information on the subject, they either died a martyr's death, or disappeared in the living tomb of a monastic prison. These events occurred in 1148, and the legate returned to Rome in the same year, though not until he had first received the oaths of the barons and knights of the south of France, that they would "remain faithful to the Roman church, and persecute all heretics;" and, indeed, his eminence was fully convinced that with the removal of its leaders the schism itself would quickly die out. But herein Cardinal Alberico was sorely misled, for though the faith of the Waldenses found no echo beyond the lower ranks of society, yet their communities were too

* On this occasion the town of Albi, in the neighbourhood of Toulouse, received peculiar care as a chief seat of heresy; and we mention this in the present place, as the heretics of the whole south of France were afterwards called Albigenses, from this town.

firmly organised to dissolve on the loss of a few of their "elect." The sect, indeed, spread ever wider, and gave no sign of repentance, when Alexander III., in 1163, pronounced the ban against it. Their doctrines spread beyond France; in the city of Trêves four heretic missionaries were shortly seized, two renegade priests among them, and all immediately put to death. A like severity was employed in England, where a German named Gerold, who had gone thither to spread the faith, and had already made thirty converts, suffered the like fate, paying for his devotion with his life; his proselytes were excommunicated, their property confiscated, and their faces branded with hot iron, so that all men might shun them. Other missionaries directed their efforts to Lorraine, and secured many adherents by procuring the translation of the Bible into the vernacular tongue. This incensed Pope Innocent III. more than all else, and he at once had every copy of the heretical fabrication seized and burnt. The Waldenses found a no less fruitful field of operations in the Netherlands, where a certain Tamcheln preached with fearless energy against the vices of the clergy, and, naturally, expiated his temerity with his life (anno 1126). But the pope found his sorest trial when the doctrines made their way into Italy, and found in Arnold of Brescia so eloquent and distinguished an exponent. Arnold, who took the surname of Brescia from the place of his birth, appears to have been acquainted with Hugo de Bruys in his early youth, and commenced his career as a preacher against ecclesiastical abuses in Brescia. His doctrines made many converts, and even exciting an insurrection against

the bishop, whose temporalities he denounced as a scandal. Arnold next went to Rome, which was then plunged in the wildest anarchy, from the schism created by the rival popes, Innocent II. and Anaclet. His object was to disseminate a knowledge of the gospel, establish religious freedom, and with it political emancipation for the subjects of St. Peter's throne. The twofold character of his preaching, in which he not only lashed the sinful lives of the ministers of religion and the demoralisation of the church, but especially denounced the whole scheme of the papal temporal power as completely at variance with the true duties of the papacy, procured him here also a vast number of adherents. Within a brief period they included all the lower and middle ranks of Rome, who suffered themselves to be convinced by him that a temporal government for their temporal interests would be far better than the theocracy under which they existed. In 1139, Anaclet II. (the antipope) died, and as the sole papal supremacy then lapsed to Innocent II., the latter at once employed it in launching sentence of excommunication against Arnold; further commanding the offender's writings to be burnt and his person seized. The Brescia escaped the fate prepared for him, however, by a timely flight to France, where he made the acquaintance of the famous Abelard, a heretic also, though not claimed by the Waldensians.* The arm of the pope, however, would have reached him even there, and he was obliged to seek greater safety in

* Abelard was renowned in his age as a scholastic philosopher, but his connection with the beautiful Heloise, to whom he was so devotedly attached, has made him more celebrated than his rationalistic speculations on the Trinity.

Switzerland, where, from 1140 to 1154, he laboured for the Waldensian faith, his efforts being chiefly employed in Constance, Lausanne, and Zurich. In 1154, immediately after the decease of Pope Anastasius IV., when Hadrian IV. ascended the throne, the Romans sent a deputation inviting Arnold of Brescia to take up his abode again among them. Arnold accepted the proposal, and the Romans, on his coming, rose and drove out Pope Hadrian. In retaliation, the pope pronounced sentence of excommunication against the rebels, though they still lay under a former ban, and the city of Rome was placed under interdict. The pope at once addressed himself to Kaiser Frederick Barbarossa in this great strait, but the Romans also sent an embassy to the Hohenstaufen, and entreated him, like the emperors of old, to make the seven-hilled city his residence, and the capital of his empire. Frederick hesitated for some time, but the pope at length prevailed, perhaps from the royal respect for the hierarchal office, or, still more probably, from the royal contempt for revolution. The Hohenstaufen agreed not only to reduce the rebellious subjects of His Holiness to submission, but to deliver the arch rebel Arnold into his hands. This occurred in 1155, and scarcely had Arnold been delivered into the power of his priestly foe, than he was summarily condemned, and sent to the scaffold. In vain the people of Rome rushed to save him when they learnt the fate in which he was involved—they found nothing left of their heroic leader but a handful of ashes. So ended Arnold of Brescia, perhaps the most enterprising of all the Waldensian missionaries.

Although the popes at this epoch had come to consider death alone was an effectual panacea for heresy, the noxious growth increased even more and more, and the Waldenses, though perhaps under other denominations, might be found in every country of Europe. In Lyons, and its neighbourhood, they were known as "Bonihomines," and "Poor folk of Lyon;" in Upper Italy, as "Henriciani," or "Pietro-brusiani;" doubtless, in honour of the two missionaries, Henry and Peter Bruys. In Lombardy, as "poor folk of Lombardy," or "Humilianti;" in other countries, as "Katharei" (the unsullied); though the title was more properly applied to another heretical sect, which came into existence about this time. Their form of heterodoxy was of a Gnostic character; it had originated in the East, where its adherents denominated themselves Paulicians, from their peculiar reverence for the apostle Paul. They were most numerously represented in Armenia, and the mountains of the Caucasus, where they formed a completely independent church, zealously opposed to the whole system of image worship and Hebrew formalism, adopted into that of Rome.

In the ninth century these Paulicians were so mercilessly persecuted by the Byzantine emperors, that many sought refuge in Bulgaria, and various other provinces of the Greek empire, already seized by the Mohammedans; whilst a smaller number emigrated to North Italy, and established religious communities at Florence, Vicenza, Spoleto, Bagnolo, and Concorezo, even extending their ramifications into the south of France, where, finding an "heretical" sect, with doctrines greatly like

their own, they naturally united with, and were soon merged in it. Both Paulicians and Waldenses renounced not only image and saint worship, but the whole external ceremonial of the Catholic church; both maintained the doctrine that God and His Son Jesus Christ, were alone fit objects of adoration; both rested their whole faith on the Scriptures as the sole basis of religious truth, and totally disregarded the claims of tradition, the papacy, and papal Bulls. It was, therefore, of little moment, if they differed in some minor questions regarding the sacraments of communion and marriage, the creation, &c.—they were firmly united in the chief points then at issue—for both regarded Roman Catholicism with the same detestation.

We thus find that towards the close of the twelfth century, a multitude of heretical communities had come into existence, in which, as in Toulouse, Albi, and Cahors, Paulicians and Waldensians lived so intermingled, it was not possible to separately distinguish them; and thus it happened that Catholics indiscriminately entitled the one and the other indifferently Katherians, Coterellei, Bescolei, Brabrantines, Navarese, or Arrogonese, &c.; though all these names are but an indication how wide-spread the reform movement had become; and it is no marvel the pope, and all his staunch supporters,* were intent on puttting an end to it.

* Heretics were also called Sabatians, from the Spanish word *sabata* (sandal), as they wore sandals, to imitate the apostles in outward customs, as in things spiritual. However numerous these names may be, they by no means indicate distinct sects, but only prove the Catholics were ignorant of their opponents' doctrines, or they would have employed a single distinctive epithet to characterise them.

The captivity, or death at the stake, of individual heretics, until then adopted, had led, indeed, to no satisfactory result; on the contrary, heresy continually found new proselytes; so it behoved Catholicism to organise a new system of warfare, if the danger of complete defeat was to be avoided; and this system was no other than the wholesale massacres, of which we must speak in our next chapter.

CHAPTER II.

WHOLESALE HERETIC MASSACRE.

By the close of the twelfth, or beginning of the thirteenth century, heresy had already extended over Italy, England, Spain, Germany; even in Hungary, Bosnia, Bulgaria, and Dalmatia, traces of the movement were perceptible. Its chief foci were, however, in the south of France, especially in Toulouse and Albi. In both towns nearly the whole population would appear to have been Katherian; and from Albi they shortly obtained the name of Albigenses, which had become synonymous with that of heretic. In reply to the question, why was this part of France the especial seat of heresy, we are told by the unanimous testimony of contemporary historians, that the explanation lay in the favour shown to the new doctrines by the counts of Toulouse. Count Alphonse, who died in 1176, is accused of having protected the Waldenses, still more his son and successor, Raymond V.

Therefore, Pope Alexander III. sent a special legate, to investigate the state of things. The legate arrived at Toulouse in 1180, and soon assured himself of the multitude of the heretics, both in the town, and the sur-

rounding districts; but, at the intercession of Count Raymond, neither excommunicated nor sentenced them to death, contenting himself with their promise to return to the bosom of the church. It appears, however, this promise was not kept; for a short time afterwards the pope sent the same legate to King Louis VII. of France, and Henry II. of England (the latter as duke of Normandy held a considerable part of the French soil), to induce both monarchs to take the field against the heretics, and especially compel the count of Toulouse to withdraw his protection from them. But the kings had too much business on their hands to meet the pope's wishes, and he was obliged to content himself with issuing a Bull of anathema, calling on the knights and nobles, bishops, and lords spiritual and temporal, to hunt out the heretics, confiscate their possessions, and banish them from the land. A few years later, when Raymond VI. had succeeded his father, Raymond V., as count of Toulouse, and Innocent III., that pope of popes, held St. Peter's chair, a new aspect came over the affairs of the Albigenses.

We have dwelt at some length on the character and acts of Innocent in our Second Book, and the reader will recognise but the logical application of that pontiff's principles, in the determination he had cherished from the very commencement of his reign, to forcibly put down all religious dissent.

He saw clearly the object of all these sects, whether called Waldenses, Paulicians, Katherians, &c., or by any other of their various titles, was no other than the overthrow of the Roman Catholic religion, and the sub-

stitution of the simplicity of the primitive church in its place. The measures he resolved on might well pass credence; but it was a question of life and death for the papacy. If the heretics were unmolested, their opinions would assuredly spread even wider, and the possibility was scarcely chimerical, that Rome itself might before long be conquered by the new doctrines; there was therefore no alternative for Innocent but their annihilation.

The abstract dogma professed by his opponents very little concerned the pope; he was solely bent on enforcing the unconditional recognition of the papal authority; and this he was resolved to carry out, though the whole fabric of society were shattered in the struggle. Thus, Gnostics, Katherians, and pietistic Waldenses, were included by him in a common denunciation, for both alike refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome; and any member on reconciliation with Rome, was required not only to renounce his heretical doctrines, but take a solemn oath of complete obedience to the papal power.

In the first year of his pontificate, Innocent despatched his legate, Reiner, to Spain and the southern provinces of France, charging him with an encyclical letter to all the princes, barons, bishops, &c., prescribing the sternest measures against the heretics. The pope was no longer satisfied with the martyrdom of the more distinguished among the heretics; for it had been already proved that the ashes of such victims proved the most prolific seed of schism.

His measures were, therefore, not to be directed against single individuals; he was determined to cut off

the whole poison tree of heresy, root and branch, at one blow. As a preliminary step, he at once commanded the arrest of every known heretic, and the confiscation of their possessions. The children of a heretic were made to share their parents' ruin; the "house in which a heretic had taken refuge was, by the same decree, commanded to be razed to the ground." "No one, from mistaken charity, shall give succour or aid to one of the accused, under penalty of incurring suspicion of sharing his sin; the nearest ties of blood or friendship shall be held no ground of excuse; an oath, sworn to an heretic, shall be null and void, for no one is bound to hold faith with, but rather in every way deceive, mislead, and circumvent him."

Such was the message brought by the legate, Reiner; but he did not find all the princes to whom he addressed himself disposed to make themselves the executioners of papal vengeance. Raymond VI. of Toulouse, openly ignored the fiat. Therein lay a serious danger for Rome. The count was very powerful, his territories equalling many a sovereign principality in extent; whilst close relationship with the royal houses of Navarre, France, and England, made him no despicable opponent. The refusal of the count to interfere became still more menacing, from the fact that his principal vassals, especially the vicomte Raymond Roger of Albi, Beziers and Carcassone, and the vicomte de Foi, were devoted to the heretical cause; and they could not be expected to consent to the persecution of their brethren in the faith.

What course was to be adopted? Was it possible to bring the count and his lieges to obedience; or if this

failed, what alternative was there left? At first, Innocent despatched missionaries into the country, and theological discussions were held, to enlighten the perverts. But at these discussions,—that, for instance, held at Carcassione in 1207,—the heretics proved the better logicians; nor could their opponents in any instance overthrow arguments based on the letter of the scriptures, and the writings of the earliest "fathers."

The pope saw that, with such palliatives, no ultimate victory could be insured; and he therefore commissioned that true arch-priest, Petrus de Castelnau, one of his missionaries, to formally call on the count of Toulouse to commence proceedings against the heretics, and pronounce the ban of the church against him, should he refuse compliance. Peter carried out his master's orders; and as the count proved refractory, laid him under the anathema. One of Raymond's knights was so exasperated at this proceeding, that he murdered the meddling priest, January, 1208, at a place not far from St. Gilles; and the count fell under suspicion of commanding, or at least of instigating, the crime.

Innocent, indeed, regardless of the unhappy prince's solemn oath the knight had acted without his knowledge or authority, pronounced the ban a second time against him, and laid his territories under the interdict. Most probably, His Holiness was well aware of the count's innocence; but the opportunity the death of Peter of Castelnau offered was of too tempting a nature, and he at once despatched legates into France and Germany, to preach a crusade against the excommunicate count and his heretical subjects. "It behoveth all men to

take up arms against the offenders, who assuredly are no better than the unbelievers of the East, and beyond question far more noxious." By special Bull, the pope granted plenary indulgence, both for past and future sins, to all, whether knights or villains, who should enter the field against the Albigenses. To make the campaign still more popular, he offered no slight inducements to his orthodox warriors. The soldiers of the crusading army were empowered, or rather enjoined, to sack and spoil all the towns and villages in the land of the unbelievers, whilst the barons and knights were to have their zeal rewarded with its broad lands and fair castles. Such bribes proved but too tempting: an army of about 30,000 men was soon collected, composed chiefly of French and German rascality, which had no other object than to sate itself with murder, robbery, and licence, and squander in debauchery that which had been won at the cost of torrents of blood. What mattered it, however, though the crusade were accompanied with nameless horrors, and a few thousand catholics were plundered and massacred in common with their heretic fellow countrymen! Sacerdotium was to be saved, at any price, though half France were ruined in the process.

The army of the orthodox grew ever larger; and though King Phillip Augustus of France declined personal participation in the holy enterprise (being then engaged in hostilities against King John of England), his absence was well compensated, by the multitude of bishops and archbishops and their vassals which his dominions sent forth to it. There were, indeed, so many plunder-loving

adventurers gathered under the papal banner that in a few months their number exceeded one hundred thousand, in and around Lyons alone. The pope then organised his forces in detail; appointed the archbishop of Sens, and the bishops of Autun and Clermont, to various commands, and Abbot Arnaud de Citeaux as commander-in-chief; directing active operations to be commenced without loss of time. These events occurred in 1209, the same year that Frederick II., the famous Hohenstaufen, appeared for the first time on the world's stage.

The army at once marched on Toulouse, and on learning this, Count Raymond's courage sank; against such overwhelming numbers, the resistance he could offer would but insure his inevitable ruin. He therefore immediately opened negociations with the papal legates, and humbly entreated to be received again into the bosom of the church. The pope's representatives offered but hard conditions. The penitent must swear he had taken no part in the murder of Peter de Castelnau, that he would take up the cross against his own heretic subjects, and prove he was ready to submit fully and completely to the will of the pope, by at once delivering seven of his strongest castles to the crusading army. After making solemn oath to rest not until he had exterminated every heretic with fire and sword, the papal legate went through the ceremony of releasing him from the ban, a ceremony humiliating enough in all its details. Bound fast with a rope, he was led by the proud priest nine times round the grave of the murdered Petrus, and nine times stricken on the bare shoulders with rods. Thus Raymond was delivered

from the anathema, and his example was followed in every particular by his kinsman and vassal, the Viscount of Narbonne and Fois. Another kinsman, the Vicomte Raymond de Beziers, Albi and Carcassone, was less fortunate; for though he expressed complete willingness to submit himself to the papal will, the pope paid no regard thereto; Raymond Roger had no crowned heads among his relatives; he was but a petty baron, and an example was deemed desirable.

The Crusaders marched upon the town of Beziers, within which the count and his adherents had enclosed themselves. He defended his position bravely, and the burghers and country people from the neighbourhood, amounting in all to seventy thousand souls, devoted themselves to his cause with the courage of despair. But despite all these efforts, on the 22nd of July, 1209, the enemy took the town by storm; and then ensued a spectacle we cannot recall, even at this distance of time, without a shudder. The knights crusaders consulted the Legate Milo and Abbot Arnaud, in what manner it behoved them to treat the inhabitants, as there were many Catholics among them, whom it would be difficult to distinguish. "Kill all, the Lord will know his own," replied the ministers of the Prince of Peace; and then began one of the most revolting massacres the world ever witnessed. Old and young, men and women, Catholic and Albigensian, all were murdered.

In the church of Sainte Marie Magdalene, in which Catholics especially had sought refuge, seven thousand victims were burnt. Sixty thousand in all died within the city. A few persons, Count Raymond Roger among

the number, contrived to save themselves by flight. Several thousands who had survived the first slaughter succeeding the storm, and knelt to entreat mercy of the conquerors, were all ruthlessly butchered. The pen refuses torelate all the barbarities of the story, the burning houses, women violated, the wild riot and plunder; and we gladly turn from it, merely adding, that the monks who accompanied the army, gathered in the market place during the sack and massacre, to sing a hymn of thanksgiving to God.

A thrill of horror passed through all Europe when the particulars of this victory were bruited abroad. Innocent III., and his devoted clergy, however, rejoiced with an exceeding joy, for, lo! "the beginning of the end of heresy had dawned." But this beginning, triumphant as it was, was not alone sufficient, and the Crusaders then marched on Carcassone, to prepare for it a like fate. Happily the greater number of the inhabitants had taken flight, and only a few thousands could be delivered to the sword and the flames. As some compensation, Vicomte Raymond Roger was secured there, and though pardon had been solemnly promised him, he was soon despatched to the other world. The Crusaders then went their way, burning every village and castle within the territories of the vicomte, and consigning catholics and heretics to the same fate, as it were, for mere devilish diversion; indeed, the whole army was but a horde of assassins, robbers, and incendiaries. Then growing sated with their orgie of blood, they separated, and so spread over the country; but there was now scarce anything left to be destroyed.

This disbanding of the Crusaders could not be prevented, as they had only taken service for a campaign of ninety days; yet Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, who had secured the territories of the murdered vicomte, Raymond Roger, under feudal tenure from the pope, retained a considerable number in his pay, and with them remained the papal legate, and the greater number of the bishops and ecclesiastical dignitaries who had accompanied the orthodox standard. The object proposed was the establishment of a lasting rule by death and terror throughout the south of France, and to make the new Montfort vicomté the central point whence heresy in the surrounding districts might be watched for and suppressed. Indeed, thenceforth for many centuries the war between Catholicism and heresy never ceased, though it was carried out on a less imposing scale. The guardians of the orthodox faith contenting themselves with occasionally falling on this or that little community, and summarily exterminating it with fire and sword.

The legate's chief attention, in pursuance of his master's instructions, was for the time devoted to Count Raymond; for though since his release from the ban the unfortunate noble had never omitted constant and munificent presents to the church, yet he showed a sore lack of zeal in the persecution of heresy in his domains, and Pope Innocent felt assured the only effectual means of dealing with the evil throughout the south of France, was by getting rid of Raymond, and his whole house. Therefore the count was summoned in 1210, before the legate once again, to answer a second charge of

backsliding from the faith. The count appeared; and as he could *not prove* he had driven away or killed all the heretics in Toulouse, excommunication was again pronounced on him, and another crusade preached against the Albigenses.

A new army was soon gathered together, and Simon de Montfort received the chief command from the pope. Cities and castles were stormed again, new thousands of Waldenses or Katherians consigned to the flames. Then Count Raymond, in despair, applied to his lord suzerain, King Phillip of France, for justice against the church, even appealed to the emperor of Germany, and the two monarchs took up the matter with sufficient zeal, that they brought Pope Innocent to enter into negociations with the count. Innocent III.'s proposals were to the effect, that:—"Raymond VI. should be left in the peaceful enjoyment of his domains, so soon as he had delivered them from the heretics, and confiscated their possessions." The count could not consent to this, or he must have proceeded against more than a half of his vassals; and so the pope came to a complete rupture with him.

A synod was summoned at Arles (1211), when Raymond was declared to have forfeited all rank and dignities. His excommunication then followed; and an interdict was finally laid on his land. Simon de Montfort marched into Toulouse at the head of a great army, burning and destroying all before him, and murdering catholics and heretics with like impartiality. No one was spared in the devoted city; and, amid fierce yells

of triumph, thousands of victims were offered up to the flames. The count remained in Toulouse, and the archbishop endeavoured to incite the catholic inhabitants to insurrection; but the insurrection ended in a very unforeseen catastrophe. The heretical part of the population still spared, united together in the so-called "Black troop," summoned all their forces, and drove the archbishop and his catholics (called the "White troop," from the white cross they had assumed) out of the town. Still the host of the crusaders grew ever larger, and pressed ever more heavily on Count Raymond and his people. The count addressed himself to Don Pedro of Arragon; represented to him how the pope was much rather intent on making himself lord suzerain over the temporal powers, than for the preservation of church doctrine. Pedro interceded with the pope, and demanded a truce to hostilities. Innocent replied, that the protector of a heretic was as bad as the heretic himself, and threatened the king with excommunication for meddling. Raymond's position seemed still more desperate; but Don Pedro was not to be deterred by threats, and led an army against the crusaders. The two forces met at Muret, in 1213, but the victory was on the side of the pope, and the king of Arragon died on the field of battle. Again Count Raymond was left quite friendless; and to avoid captivity he fled with his son from the land of his fathers.

Simon de Montfort marched in triumph on the city of Toulouse; and after a hard-contested, but brief struggle with the inhabitants, in which the greater number of

the defenders perished, found himself absolute master of the whole land; and in recognition of his services, Innocent III. forthwith made him count of Toulouse.

The new government was established amid horrors too fearful for recapitulation here; and soon a total change fell on the whole province. Whoever was suspected of heresy, or rather denounced as a heretic, was at once seized and executed; and all the landowners, *i.e.*, petty barons and knights, who had not fallen in battle, fled, terror-stricken, to other countries,—the church seizing their domains and bestowing them in fief on the adventurers in Montfort's train.

Thus things proceeded for three years; and the dread inspired by such a system grew so great, that all the inhabitants still left alive in the villages and towns around, thenceforth exhibited every appearance of the most devout orthodoxy, whilst burning to avenge their wrongs on Simon de Montfort. Suddenly, in 1217, Count Raymond and his young son appeared in the country at the head of a small body of devoted adherents. The whole population received him with rapture; and Simon de Montfort found himself placed in a position of considerable difficulty. He made it good to the best of his power; but died the following year before the walls of Toulouse, which had once more rebelled against him. His pretensions were inherited by his son, Amaury, who had, however, but small share of his father's talents; and though supported by an army of crusaders, could not maintain himself against the legitimate ruler, especially after the death of Raymond VI., 1222. The orthodoxy of Raymond VII., son and successor of Ray-

mond VI., was beyond question; so the church could have no ground of quarrel against him.

Amaury finding his cause grow constantly more desperate, finally turned to the king of France, in 1224, offering to renounce Toulouse in his favour, in consideration of a certain annual pension. Louis VIII. thereupon declared war against Raymond VII., but died shortly afterwards; and his successor, Louis IX., concluded a treaty with him, by which it was agreed the latter should retain his territories during his life, but that at his death they were to devolve to the crown of France, with the exception of the comté of Venaissin, to which the pope, naturally anxious to get some share of the spoils, now laid claim.

So ended the Albigensian war, during which upwards of one hundred thousand heretics had been burnt to death or slaughtered; though more than thrice that number of persons in all must have perished in it.

Heresy was suppressed in the south of France: it was annihilated completely, or, at least to all outward appearance, annihilated. Some traces, indeed, might, perhaps, linger in men's secret hearts; some few of the forcibly converted might affectionately recal the simple teaching of former times: but no man dared confess so openly. It was even possible that heretical writings, though concealed from the world, might be still carefully preserved, to be produced at some future day; and as these things were possible, so Pope Innocent III. resolved, they should no longer remain so. "All heretical writings," such was the decree he now issued, "shall be destroyed; all heretical thoughts be hushed in silence;" and to this effect he established a special

institution,—an organised authority;—the so-called Inquisition, whose purpose was to forcibly crush out every thought which could come in conflict with the church and the papacy. As the Holy Office has occupied us already to the full extent our space permits, we must here confine ourselves to a brief indication of its action in the present juncture of affairs.

Certain Dominicans, especially chosen in Toulouse for dealing with the heretics, established a tribunal there, which, in a short time, became a terror for the whole south of France. Their agents were in every city, every village, entered every house; and whoever neglected Sunday mass, or exhibited any peculiarity in his manner of life, was at once denounced as a heretic by them, and consigned to prison. The slightest indication of discontent, or want of lively interest in the labours of the Holy Office, at once brought the offender under its authority; and if any one who might be cited for the purpose refused to give evidence against a suspected person, the denial involved participation in his punishment. The fate of an accused person might always be considered as fixed before any form of trial had been gone through, for he would inevitably be condemned to perpetual imprisonment, or to the last penalty of ecclesiastical law—death at the stake.

Torture was systematically employed to obtain confession, and it was in every case again and again repeated until the desired admissions had been procured. Possibly, the judges of the Inquisition would have acknowledged that by this means hundreds of innocent people might suffer before the real culprit was reached;

but what mattered! "It was but the mortal part of man that was martyred and destroyed, the soul was not injured; or, by the very sufferings of its fleshly tabernacle, it became the better fitted for eternal salvation." When once this system had been got into full activity, the prisons soon proved incapable of containing the multitude of their occupants, for, by the above doctrines, any one, even the most orthodox, might be submitted to the tribunal merely at the arbitrary will of the accuser. "Will" failed not, nor could it fail; for every accused person was at once deprived of his possessions. The Inquisition appointed special officials, entitled "Receptatores bonorum publicatorum," who were charged with the administration of such property for the benefit of the church. Thus it is at once evident the richer classes would receive by far the greater share of inquisitorial attention, and were far more exposed to persecution than their poorer neighbours. Besides, many accusations were brought from private malice or revenge; and as evidence was never refused, though offered by persons of the most notorious lives or mental incapacity, persons who even in those days would not have been accepted as witnesses in any public court of justice, but were gratefully welcomed by the Inquisition, which taught from every pulpit, in city and village, that denunciation of heresy was not only a right, but the most urgent duty. False evidence became notoriously frequent; in short, no means were left untried to cure mankind of heretical ideas; and imprisonment for life in the cloister or death at the stake at least imposed silence on all the guilty so provided for. Such was the spiritual disci-

pline meted to the inhabitants of the south of France. We have, indeed, given but an inadequate idea of it, for the persecutions were not yet over. In 1236, the chief judge of the heretic tribunal for Toulouse had five hundred men and women, who were merely suspected of heresy, buried alive. Pope Cœlestin IV. recalled the monster, but punished him only with a slight imprisonment. Under such conditions, the south of France might well seem strangely changed within a few years. The vengeance of the church was, however, still unsatisfied, it even extended beyond the grave: the bodies of deceased persons accused of heresy were disinterred, and cast out as carrion, the property they had left confiscated, their dwellings razed to the ground, their children driven forth penniless, to be shunned and forsaken by all men. The silence of the churchyard settled down on the once joyous land of Provence; it was as though the curse of God had fallen on it; but the popes triumphed —heresy was destroyed!*

* Possibly some of our readers may believe the iniquities of the Inquisition rest rather with the Dominicans than with the papacy; but it is not so; all the power held by the order, and through it by the Holy Office, was held in charge from the papal throne. A Bull of Pope Urban IV. (1261) emphatically warned the General of the order never to forget that the authority to persecute heresy did not necessarily reside in the order *per se*, but had been bestowed by the pope, and could therefore at any moment be withdrawn.

CHAPTER III.

THE PIONEERS OF THE REFORMATION.

After the general destruction of the heretics in the south of France, a deadly terror seemed to settle down upon the world. Men felt that life, property, and honour were thenceforth to be placed at the mercy of the lightest whisper of malice, and for a long period no one was found daring enough to overstep the magic circle drawn around humanity by the fiat of Rome. Though here and there a solitary thinker still garnered up in the recesses of his heart the purer doctrines of the Waldensian martyrs, though in the lonely valleys of Piedmont a few communities, unknown to the world, still held to their earlier faith, whilst outwardly conforming to the Catholic ritual; yet, on the whole, Sacerdotium had gained a great victory, and throughout western Europe Rome might hope henceforth to absolutely dictate men's thoughts and spiritual aspirations. Of Christ, or the Christianity founded by Christ, no vestige was left visible in the world; it had been changed into a new faith—the Roman Catholic, which, like the heathenism of the Budhists, was founded wholly on supposititious miracles, relics, saints, purgatory, and

indulgences. The Christians of that age could not claim equal purity for their faith with that of Islam or Judaism, for both the latter, at least, denounced idol worship; and a council, in 1361, had found it necessary to remind Christians, in a spiritual edict, there were not many gods, but only One God. The whole demon world of the north had been merged into the religion of Rome, and superstition, ignorance, and mental deterioration so increased, that many persons in their disgust adopted the faith of the Old Testament, the doctrines of Mohammed, or utterly denied God and immortality. Not a few sought refuge in ancient paganism, declaring that in that at least some virtue was still to be found,* whilst among Christians, and Christian priests especially, there was nothing but vice, iniquity, and barbarism;† in short, there was imminent danger; the whole

* Such paganised Christians existed in the dioceses of Mayence, Bremen, Trêves, Cologne, Saltzburg, but still more (according to the Bull of Pope John XXII.) were to be found in Italy. There the old heathen divinities were again brought forth; men again prayed to them, and declared they would have no part in the Christian church or its ministers. Nor need we imagine the number of these revivalists was very small; it, indeed, so much increased, that the same Pope John, anno 1322, instituted a crusade against the unbelievers, during which the town of Recanati was levelled with the ground. Nor was it poor and ignorant people only who were included among them, for we find Frederico, lord of Monteferrato, at the head of the movement.

† In what concerns the latter charge, Clemengis (who wrote in the fourteenth century) says in his work, 'De ruina Ecclesiæ,' "anything more iniquitous and contemptible could not be than the present condition of the priesthood, and were it not for their effrontery, they would die for very shame. The whole profession is alike in this; for if among a thousand one just man doth assume the priestly robes, in but a little while he groweth as debauched, extravagant, and wicked as the others. It is as though a dire spell had fallen on the whole sacerdo-

fabric of Christianity would collapse; the church seemed to have become the chosen dwelling place of the great enemy of mankind; and many were those who cried, "If God lives, if Christianity is true, so is it impossible that this herd of priests should still carry on their iniquities with impunity, day after day, through succeeding years." But, miserable as was the spiritual condition of men, so miserable that many of the most conscientious saw no resource but in some new faith which should replace Christianity, yet from their very despair came the regeneration of the church, when at length a few discovered that this Christianity was no Christianity at all, and thus made possible a return to apostolic purity of creed.

The first who thus took up the work of regeneration were the

1.—Spiritualists and their Fellow-Reformers.

The Franciscan order professed, as we have already seen, to subsist wholly on the alms of the faithful, and thus typify in their own lives true apostolic poverty. But this poverty of the Franciscans came to a very premature end; we find Bonaventura, the second General of the Order, complaining that, fifty years after its first installation, it was as rich as any of the existing fraternities. The pious brothers, indeed, never renounced

tium. If we, finally, regard the condition of the monasteries, we find them the lurking places of fleshly lust; and to invest a virgin with the veil, is equal to making her a harlot." So declared Clemengis; and we may hence conclude his contemporaries were but too well justified in maintaining that under the Christian priesthood "vice, iniquity, and barbarism" reigned supreme.

mendicancy, and constantly advertised their pauperism; but they contrived to wear sumptuous garments, lived on the fat of the land, bought handsome steeds, rejoiced in pleasant gardens, lent money at profitable usury, and, in a word, made their profession so satisfactory, that they were an object of envy to the other orders. Yet, strange to say, there were still some among them who held fast to their first founder's rule: that as the Lord and his apostles had possessed nothing in this world, they also should gather up no earthly wealth; and though the great majority had long renounced such ideas, the enthusiasts for poverty remained firmly attached to their convictions, the more so as they constituted the best protest against the contempt with which the world at large regarded the inmates of a cloister. An open rupture soon became inevitable between them and their richer brethren, and, under the pontificate of Clement V. (1305-16), the order finally separated into two. Those who devoted themselves to an ascetic life, abandoned the magnificent dwellings of their brethren, and formed a distinct society under the title of "Fratres de Spiritualitate (Brothers in the Spirit)." The others, who understood "apostolic poverty" less strictly, were distinguished as "Fratres de Communitate (Brothers of the greater Community)." Clement V. greatly desired to close the strife, and to this end issued a special Bull in 1312, but all his efforts proved in vain. The rivalry, indeed, grew ever fiercer, so that it gave John XXII., Clement's successor, matter for serious anxiety. The doctrine that Christ and his apostles having possessed nothing, all those who would follow in their steps

should also renounce all worldly gear, was little satisfactory to him. He therefore issued a Bull, in 1322, to proclaim that apostolic perfection "consisteth not in poverty, but in love;" and, further, by a second Bull, in the same year, declared it rank heresy to hold that Christ and his apostles had possessed nothing. Some time later, towards the close of 1323, he officially announced the apostles had taken no vow of poverty, and that such a vow neither sanctifies faith nor life. All this he did, doubtless, not because the "Fratres de Spiritualitate" were good or bad, lived sumptuously or frugally, but because their doctrine, "that he who would follow the Lord, ought to lay no store by the things of this world," would necessarily undermine the whole basis of the papacy. For this reason it was he determined to impose silence on these schismatic spiritualists, whose views much too nearly accorded with those of the Waldenses. Unhappily, the Bull produced the very opposite of the effect intended. The enthusiastic monks declared, in their turn, the papal assertions heretical, and filled the whole world with their clamour; at length going so far as to assert the papal dogma of supremacy over the Christian world was arch heresy. Thenceforth there was no mercy for the spiritualists. The Inquisition was charged with bringing all its powers against them, and they met the fate that in those days awaited all dissentients from the church. A few, with the famous Michael Cæsàna among the number, succeeded in making good their escape to Kaiser Ludwig the Bavarian, then at war with the pope; but still more were seized and burnt at the stake. Strangely enough,

among the latter unfortunates but one recanted; but as his sole reward was a life-long captivity, none cared after him to court such questionable mercy. Multitudes of the victims went with even signs of rejoicing to their doom, and gladly welcomed chains and torture for conscience sake. In a few years there were no more spiritualists left among the Franciscans. The Inquisition had effectually rooted them out. But the spirit which produced the heresy was not to be so destroyed. It continued to exist, now under one, now under some other form. Thus it is we hear of "Flagellatores," or Brothers of the Scourge; "Pastorales," Followers of Apostolic Doctrine; of "Fraticelli," Christian Brothers; of "Beguins" and "Begards," Begging Brothers and Sisters, or Brothers and Sisters of Repentance; of "Lollards," "Turlupins," "Picards," "Adamites," &c. However various their designations appear, there was a general resemblance in their main doctrines, all, doubtless, derived from the Spiritualists. This is especially illustrated in the Beguins and Fraticelli by their names: Fraticelli is but an Italian translation of "Fratres Minores" of the Franciscans: Begard or Beguin is derived from the old Saxon *began, biggan* (to beg). We see the fact, however, most strikingly in the dogma adopted by each; that dogma, namely, that nothing but complete apostolic poverty could render the attainment of Christian perfection possible. They, like the Spiritualists, promised the Kingdom of God to "apostolic poverty," so that the dominant church inevitably appeared to them as a carnal institution, despicable by

its very nature; and they alike renounced its priests, prelates, and pope.*

Such a dogma, though not openly proclaimed, could not be tolerated by the papacy; and the Holy Inquisition was, therefore, commanded to do its duty against these sects, as it had once before, when the Waldenses were concerned. The Inquisition accepted the charge with zealous satisfaction; and then, wherever the heterodox opinions had found proselytes, fire and faggot appeared for their confutation. In 1354, under Pope Innocent VI., nine persons were thus disposed of at Avignon; John de Chatillon among the number. But, notwithstanding the papal fiat and Dominican zeal, in the fourteenth century orthodoxy complained, that in all the countries of Europe, and even beyond Europe, into Armenia, the land swarmed with Fraticelli, Beguins, and other heretics. Several synods,—that of Narbonne, 1374, especially,—declared that heresy would never cease until all "Apostols" (those who, in imitation of the apostles, wandered from place to place, begging and teaching) were delivered over unto the death. The wrath of the church was, indeed, at last fully awakened; and the wandering brothers, who, under the cover of

* It is remarkable that every orthodox writer of the time accuses all these sects, without exception, but the Adamites especially, of great licentiousness. At a certain moment, they tell us, at the nightly religious meeting of the latter, all the lights were put out, a practice resulting in the most notorious scandals. In like manner, the Begards, at Cologne, were said to have a subterranean Paradise, devoted to the grossest orgies of debauchery. If there was any truth in these accusations, or if they were mere calumnies, we have now no means of deciding.

primitive Christian simplicity, spread disaffection to Rome, were exposed to the most relentless persecution. A crusade was even preached against them; and in 1406 a bishop of Vercelli placed himself at the head of a considerable army for the destruction of the two heretical preachers, Dulcinus and Gerhardus Sagarelli, of Parma, and their adherents,—killing every human creature found in the Novarra highlands, near the source of the Tessin. In a word, the church employed the full weight of its arms, spiritual and temporal, to suppress the movement. If it quite succeeded, however, we may well doubt; for it is known, that when Luther inaugurated the Reformation, there were still many Fraticelli and Begards existing.

Of no less influence than the heresy of the spiritualists, or even of still greater, were the doctrines of

II.—John Wickliffe,

Called, not unjustly, the English Luther.

John Wickliffe was born at Richmond, in Yorkshire, in the reign of King Edward II., 1324, and devoted himself to the study of theology from his earliest youth. He possessed, together with remarkable energy of character, great mental acumen, and soon felt the degradation into which the church and religion had fallen. His peculiarly logical mind naturally led him to investigate whether catholicism, the sole officially-accepted creed of that age, were justified in its pretensions; and he was thus impelled onward to the study of the source of

Christianity,—the Bible. The name of the "Doctor Evangelicus," soon generally accorded him, will best indicate the direction of his labours.

Some time seems to have elapsed before he gave free vent to his later and boldest opinions; for it was not until 1360 that he excited public attention. He was at that time a tutor at Merton College, Oxford; and as then the Franciscan (thanks to papal patronage) engrossed nearly every university chair, and distinguished themselves by a scarcely conceivable arrogance,—even asserting mankind owed more to their Order than to Christ himself,—Wickliffe put forth a pamphlet against these assumptions, in which he made evident the vast difference between the Saviour of mankind and the followers of St. Francis. But he did not stand alone in the attack thus commenced; he had the support of Bishop Nicholas of Hereford, Fitz Ralph, primate of England, and the learned Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, whose blows told as effectually on the enemy as his own. Many of the laity adopted the views of the Evangelical Doctor, for Englishmen had too much inherent independence to yield completely to the papal yoke. English kings had defended themselves from of old against the encroachments of Rome; and full provocation they had for doing so. A chief cause of the royal discontent was in the extravagant pecuniary pretensions of the popes, who contrived, with Peter's pence and the sale of church preferments, to draw thrice as much money from the kingdom as that constituting the royal revenue; and even carried their shamelessness so

far, that all the richer benefices in the English church were filled by their Italian tools and favourites.*

Thus we may easily imagine serious differences frequently arose; and at the moment Wickliffe was inducted into a chair at Oxford, the battle was raging at its fiercest.

The brave soldier and clear-headed monarch, Edward III., was king at the time; and he not only banished, by fair means or foul, every foreign priest who held church preferment in the kingdom, but positively refused to sanction the tribute, or Peter's pence, persistently demanded by Pope Urban V. The pope, of course, angrily protested, declared religion in danger, and threatened the ban; but the king assembled his Parliament, and the nobles and commons of England promised not only to oppose the pope with all their power, but make the cause of the king their own, and stand or fall with him.

Thus the ground was prepared in the most favourable manner for Wickliffe, and the more so, since in the struggle between the crown and the tiara, or rather between the rights of the English nation and the pretensions of Rome, he at once took his stand on the popular side. King Edward, and still more Edward's great

* In 1232, the English nobility formed a league to forcibly expel all Italian ecclesiastics sent by the pope to take possession of wealthy English benefices. King Edward I. acted still more to the purpose, when he published a law by which the church was prohibited from enjoying any bequests or making any purchase of landed property without the express sanction of the king; whilst priests were in future to contribute in the same ratio to the public burdens as the laity. He, moreover, prohibited the payment of Peter's pence, and admitted no Italian prelate, provided with a papal letter of presentation, into the land.

brother, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, took Wickliffe under their protection. He was then appointed to the rectory of Lutterworth, and made a doctor of theology; and even came into diplomatic communication with the pope, when, in 1373, he represented one of the chief personages in an embassy sent to Gregory XI. His Holiness endeavoured, by flattery and promises, to win over the English reformer; but the character of the Avignon court, the utter demoralization of the higher dignitaries of the church, appear to have completely nullified any favourable result which might else have been possible, and to have still more enlightened the already too acute mind of Wickliffe. He publicly declared, both from the pulpit and in his writings, that the priesthood had become a mass of foulness and corruption, and preached mere lies and fables to the people, wherein lingered not even a semblance of truth. He denounced the pope, as "antichrist," and the great prelates as the sons of antichrist; and maintained that the pretensions of the high priests of Rome "to temporal power and dignity, were totally unfounded in right." His language, bold as it was, found favour in the eyes of the English king and his barons, for both would long since have gladly thrown off the claims of the hierarchy: a still deeper effect was produced by it on the English people, who enlisted in great numbers on Wickliffe's side; his party included several of the Oxford theological professors: Nicholas Hereford, Reppyndon, John Ashton, and many other not less famous men. The Romanists, that is the adherents of the pope, loudly protested; and Gregory IX. declared John Wickliffe's doc-

trines, set forth under nineteen heads, as heretical, and called on the king and the university of Oxford to commence legal proceedings against the chief offender, and at once consign him to prison.

But neither the university (where Wickliffe's friends were in a great majority), nor the king, paid any heed to the order, and the proud archbishop of Canterbury, who represented the head of the Romanist faction, could imagine no better course than to summon Wickliffe before an assembly of bishops, convened within St. Paul's Cathedral, to sit in judgment on him. Wickliffe appeared at the appointed time, but not alone: the great John of Gaunt accompanied him, and Earl Percy of Northumberland, with many knights, nobles, and a great body of citizens. The proceedings commenced in due form; but when their graces, the bishops, by the mouth of their colleague, William of London, would have pronounced sentence of excommunication on the accused, the citizens, the devoted partisans of Wickliffe, made so violent a clamour, that in very fear of his life bishop William broke up the court, before any decision had been arrived at. The affair, however, was not yet over; a few months later a second convocation met at Lambeth Palace, Wickliffe again appearing, and again with John of Gaunt, Earl Percy, Lord Clifford, and other powerful friends, in his company. Moreover, all the citizens of London were as devoted to him as ever, and the second meeting of their graces ended with no other result than the first.

These events occurred in 1377. King Edward died before the year closed; but Wickliffe enjoyed the same

protection under his successor, Richard II. Gregory, too, expired in March, 1378; and then commenced, as we have seen, the great church schism—a Pope Urban VI. in Avignon, a Pope Clement VII. at Rome. The whole world divided by their rival pretensions into opposite factions; so that when England formally recognised Pope Urban VI., the latter found it necessary to quietly ignore the Wickliffe heresy, fearing else so important an ally might go over to Pope Clement VII. Wickliffe was, therefore, left at peace, and could devote himself to the dissemination and perfection of his doctrines. It was soon known his missionaries had spread over all England, teaching every where the "crying need of a radical reformation in the Roman church, a reformation that must be inaugurated by depriving the clergy of all temporal power." To this doctrine King Richard II. and his barons devoutly cried, Amen.

But more than by any abstract doctrine was Wickliffe's followers multiplied, by the fact, that he now commenced the translation of the Bible into English, concluding his part of the work in 1383. The laity were thus enabled to compare the simplicity of primitive Christianity with contemporary Catholicism, and in doing so, subject the latter to a very trying ordeal,* or, rather, to inevitable refutation in many points of its

* Wickliffe did not translate the whole of the Scriptures, only the New Testament, and certain books of the Old, the remaining portion being accomplished by John of Treviso in 1387. How great an influence the mere translation of the Gospels had on the people, we have abundant evidence, especially in a plaintive letter written by a contemporary of Wickliffe's—Knighton, the chronicler—who cries with horror, that "womyn do now grow more versed in the New Testament than learned clerks."

doctrine. How great the divergence between the teaching of the Founder of Christianity, and his self-styled vicegerent really was, became first glaringly evident, and a great many placed themselves on Wickliffe's side, even when his views on the chief points of dogma grew heretical. Among these we may include his renunciation of the doctrine of transubstantiation; on which, indeed, great part of priestly authority was based. For he who could create the body and blood of Christ, was necessarily to be honoured more than common mortality.

We can readily believe the whole priesthood cried rank heresy; and even the doctors of the University of Oxford, and their chancellor, William de Burton, felt the ecclesiastical dignity so insulted, they prohibited their colleague from partaking of the sacrament, under pain of excommunication. Wickliffe, nothing daunted, addressed a petition (1382) to King Richard and the Parliament, in which he earnestly insisted on the need of a thorough reformation in the church, from the imminent peril that the vices and false doctrines of its priesthood would involve the world in complete ruin; further showing that in the wealth of the clergy lay the root of their simony and heresy, contentions, and forgetfulness of God's Word. The Parliament took the petition into consideration; the Commons declared themselves in its favour; but the Lords, where the bishops had chief influence, condemned the petitioner as a heretic.

The king sided with the upper house, the archbishop of Canterbury having then great power with him, and without regard to the opinion expressed by the representatives of the nation, he issued a decree, July, 1382,

by which "those heretics, John Wickliffe, John Ashton, Nicholas Hereford, and Philip Reppyndon, were ordered to be seized, and brought before the archbishop of Canterbury." Ashton, Hereford, and Reppyndon, penitently, or rather for fear of death, consented to recant. Wickliffe neither yielded himself up, nor was he seized; and the Commons protested so manfully against the royal edict, that Richard awakened to the folly of persecuting a man who had been the champion of the crown against the pope and the papacy, and thereupon annulled the decree, and took the arch heretic again under his protection. Urban cited him before the judgment seat at Rome; but Wickliffe did not care to quit Lutterworth, and as the pope had no power to drive him thence, for the king would not countenance his persecution, Wickliffe, from that time, remained at peace in his village, dying in 1384, in the act of ascending the pulpit stairs, deeply regretted by his own parish, and the whole kingdom.

We, of course, cannot enter at length into Wickliffe's doctrines; for our present purpose it is enough that he adopted the same basis as the later reformers, deriving his belief from the Scriptures alone. "There is no authority," he asserted, "above, or co-equal with the Holy Scriptures, and we have no Mediator but the Lord and Saviour." In short, his teaching closely resembled that of Luther and Zwingle in after years; denouncing saint worship, the dogmas of transubstantiation, purgatory, the seven sacraments, priestly consecration, and especially that of papal supremacy; his heresy was thus of so flagrant a character, that nothing

but the protection of the king and the parliament saved him from death at the stake.

The protection he enjoyed greatly aided the dissemination of his doctrines, so that within a brief period they spread through the length and breadth of the land. His disciples and adherents, John Perney, John Parker, Robert Swinderly, Walter Disse (formerly a Carmelite friar, who openly laid bare the vices and abominations practised in the monasteries), preached openly against Catholicism. If any of the bishops laid violent hands on the schismatics, the temporal power at once came to the offender's rescue, and secured his complete impunity. For example: the bishop of Lincoln, in 1389, seized a certain heretic, named William Swinderby, and would have summarily burnt him, when the duke of Lancaster rode off to the episcopal city, at the head of a band of retainers, and set the prisoner free. The archbishop of Canterbury had no better success in the case of Jacob Tailor and William Smeth, as the king himself commanded their liberation, and compelled the archbishop to remove the interdict, which, on their account, he had imposed on the city of Leicester. In short, Wickliffism spread so rapidly, that even the papal historian, Knighton, acknowledges that in those days, in England, it was impossible to find two men together, but that one of them was a Wickliffite.

This state of things had to be completely changed, if the papacy would avoid a very serious reverse. The pestilent doctrines of Wickliffe were at any cost to be uprooted, though the road to that end lay over the body of a king. The Romanists saw clearly that

so long as Richard II. wore the crown, nothing would be done against the heretics, therefore they determined, as no other means offered, to remove him by a revolution. Richard was childless; but he had four uncles, Lionel, Lancaster, York, and Gloucester, brothers of his dead father, and, therefore, if he died without a direct heir, Roger Mortimer, eldest son of Lionel (Duke Lionel had died some time before), would legally claim the throne. But Roger was not a man such as the Catholic party demanded; he was still more liberal in his religious views than his cousin the king, so Henry Bolingbroke, the eldest son of the duke of Lancaster, became the chosen candidate, for the sufficient reason that he offered the most complete contrast to all his father had been, and they had every hope he would justify the anticipations founded in him. Thomas Arundel, the deadly enemy of King Richard, from the latter having executed the archbishop's brother for high treason, and who had held the see of Canterbury since 1396, was the immediate director of the plot. Henry Bolingbroke, dazzled by the promise of a crown, let himself be won over but too easily by the crafty priest, who then, with the other partisans of the papacy, took all the measures to ensure the success of the great conspiracy. Richard had lost the respect of his barons and the English nation by his profusion, and weakness for wine and women. To recruit his exchequer he had recourse to acts of spoliation, of which the citizens of London especially had been the victims, whilst he gave precedence over the greatest nobles of the kingdom to the detested favourite, Robert Vere, earl of Oxford.

These circumstances were well employed by Arundel to win over a great part of the aristocracy to his plans, but Richard suddenly got wind of the projected treason, and in the autumn of 1399 banished both the archbishop and Bolingbroke from the kingdom. He hoped thus to put an end to any further troubles in that quarter, and, towards the close of the same year, crossed over to Ireland, then in insurrection. But scarcely had the king crossed the channel, than Arundel, in defiance of the sentence of banishment, hastened to London, conferred with the great nobles, his previous confederates, and then hurried off to Duke Henry at Paris to induce him, on the faith of the assurances he brought, to lose no time in reaching English soil. All went well for the conspirators. On the 4th of July Henry landed in England, and the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland at once joined his standard; he was soon at the head of sixty thousand men. Richard returned from Ireland, and as he also had a powerful army, the coming struggle might well have seemed of doubtful issue. Thanks to the treacherous offices of the archbishop, Richard accorded an interview to his smooth-tongued cousin, who, for the nonce, expressed the most devoted and loyal sentiments. The interview took place in August, 1399, and closed by Henry's seizing the person of his too-confiding cousin, and forthwith consigning him to Flint castle, and then to the Tower of London. There, Richard II. was forced to renounce his crown, and was soon after sent to a dungeon in Pontefract castle, where he finally died by slow starvation.

The Romanists had once more triumphed. Henry of

Lancaster mounted the throne as Henry IV., and made Thomas Arundel, the devout papist and persecutor of the Wickliffites, his chief adviser. What followed may easily be imagined: "extermination of heretics, and nothing but extermination of heretics," became the chief object of the archbishop's thoughts. At first a certain degree of precaution was used in proceeding with the work, for fear, probably, of exciting an insurrection, and the priesthood contented itself with imprisoning offenders, and forcing them to recantation; but, soon, bolder steps followed, and the king was induced to inaugurate measures of the true Inquisitorial type. Magistrates and persons in the service of the crown were directed to seize all heretics and deliver them to the bishops of their respective dioceses. To secure the carrying out these commands with greater facility, certain indications were specified, by which heretics might be identified. "All persons shall be so regarded," so runs the decree, "who bow not before the holy pictures, or fail to kiss them, who make no sign of reverence when a procession passes, or who do not kneel before the cross, who possess a Bible in the English tongue, listen to it when read by another, or have acquaintance with persons possessing a Bible; who frequent suspected persons, hear not mass every week, speak disrespectfully of a priest, or exhibit by any outward sign that the Roman Catholic church is not supreme over all earthly things to him." Such "indications" sufficiently prove how easy it must have been to fall under suspicion, whilst it was still easier from a suspected to become a proven heretic, for there was no lack, on the papal side,

of torture and false evidence. By 1401 the faggots were set blazing throughout the country in the cause of orthodoxy; the first victim was a person named Savoutre. A multitude of others followed him, and the system of denunciation acquired such frightful proportions, that no friend dared trust his friend, nor neighbour his neighbour—no man his closest kindred. The imprisonment of an accused person brought the confiscation of his property, and the third of the spoil went to the informer. But with the mere burning and the spoliation of the heretics the church was not satisfied. A fierce raid was instituted against the writings on which heresy was based, especially against the translation of the Bible, every copy of which that could be found was burnt in the same solemn manner as its readers. Even the dead found no mercy. In 1412 the body of Wickliffe was disinterred, burnt, and the ashes scattered to the winds; but this last outrage tried the temper of the English people beyond the point of longer endurance, and the House of Commons demanded from the king that he should mitigate the severity of the penal laws in this matter of heresy. The energetic attitude assumed by the Commons was not without some effect; but as the Lords as firmly opposed any change, the persecutions, 1413, were renewed in all their former intensity, and a great many Wickliffites, some highly distinguished men among the number, suffered a martyr's death, very few stooping to save their lives by recantation. Thus things proceeded whilst Henry IV. lived, and even under his son Henry V. no sensible change took place, as the fate of Lord Cobham

too well proves. Lord Cobham was a powerful baron, and even a personal friend of the king; but he became obnoxious to the priesthood, not only by his own heterodoxy, but by giving shelter and countenance to the Wickliffites upon his domains. He was cited by the archbishop of Canterbury to appear before the archiepiscopal tribunal; he did not obey, and the primate at once called on the king to seize the person of the offender. The king proved docile, Lord Cobham was captured, and brought up before the archbishop of Canterbury in St. Paul's Cathedral. The trial closed in the excommunication of the prisoner, after which ceremony he was delivered over to the temporal power, to be burnt at the stake. The sentence, however, could not be so immediately fulfilled; the king hesitated to put so powerful a vassal to death, and having consigned him to the Tower, allowed him fifty days for reflection and recantation. Lord Cobham contrived to escape from his prison, and sought safety in his good castle of Comlyny, where he soon gathered a considerable body of adherents devoted to his cause. The king took the field in person against the fugitive, defeated him utterly, and caused all his retainers (many thousand in number), suspected of Wickliffism, to be summarily hung or burnt. Lord Cobham, with a handful of brave followers, made his way to the highlands of Scotland, where they wandered about from place to place, exposed to the greatest hardships and misery. He, also, was secured at last, and brought to London. Then were the rejoicings great in the camp of the Romanists, and it was resolved to carry out the sentence against him

with every aggravation that cruelty could suggest. He was hung head downward, from an iron gallows, and a slow fire lighted beneath, that he might thus smoulder gradually to death.

In such wise did the priesthood act against the followers of Wickliffe; yet, despite this terrible severity, it still seemed impossible to uproot the heresy; for we find again, in 1457, various condemnations to the stake —the best proof that the evangelical faith in England still maintained itself, though it was in secret.

III.—John Huss and Hieronymus of Prague.

What Wickliffe was for England, that was John Huss and his friend, Hieronymus, for Bohemia. Huss was born in 1373, at Hussiniecz, near Prachaticz, in the south of Bohemia, and pursued a course of theological and philosophical study at the university of Prague, where he was maintained by his feudal lord, the Seigneur of Hussiniecz. At twenty-three years of age he was made a master of theology, then became a tutor at the above university, and in 1402 was appointed preacher at the Bethlehem chapel at Prague. His eloquence soon made him famous, so that the queen of Bohemia, Sophia, consort of King Wenzel, appointed him her confessor; and this honour, and still more the ability exhibited in his lectures at the university, soon made his name known throughout the country.

About this time, 1408, he became acquainted with Hieronymus Faulfish, who, after a prolonged residence in England, had just returned to his native city, Prague, to lecture at the university. The friendship thus formed

was of great influence on the after life of Huss. Hieronymus, a young man of singular intelligence, had, thanks to his parent's wealth, been enabled to fully indulge his tastes for learning, successively studying at Paris, Cologne, Heidelberg, and Oxford; at the latter place taking his degree as master of arts and bachelor of divinity. His chief attention at Oxford appears to have been given to the writings of the Wickliffe school; for, on his return to Prague, he might with perfect justice have been regarded as a thorough heretic; whilst he awakened in Huss, soon his fast friend, a strong desire to penetrate the spirit of the Gospel, and reform the church upon Wickliffe's views.

A third associate in the work was Jacob of Misa, a young priest, of St. Michael's church, Prague, and who soon became not less enthusiastic for the doctrines of the English reformer than his friends. The three young men thenceforth studied together the heretical writings brought by Hieronymus from Oxford, devoutly seeking to thoroughly penetrate the spirit of the New Testament; and they then set themselves the bold task of denouncing the rottenness of the ecclesiastical system, and the wide discrepancy between Romanism and the Gospel. Their object was the radical reformation of the church. The priesthood was to be "completely changed in life, doctrine and tendencies, and the teaching of Christ take the place of ceremonial worship." The papacy, as it then existed, appeared to them the worst enemy of Christianity, and the dogma of papal authority inculcated by the priests a mere lying invention. They renounced, in fact, the whole Roman sa-

cerdotium, declaring there was but one well-spring of life—"the Holy Scriptures."

This is a brief sketch of the purpose aimed at by Huss, and his friends; but we must not suppose that each manifested like zeal and devotion. The chief labours in the cause were assumed by John Huss, whilst Jacob of Misa kept somewhat timidly in the back ground, and was, indeed, the least intellectually-gifted of the three. Hieronymus, on the other hand, was of too impatient and restless a character; he could not remain long in any one place, and, in all, spent but a few years in Bohemia. Yet both his coadjutors were of the greatest assistance to Huss, and probably, without the aid and encouragement he derived from them, especially in the manly courage of Hieronymus, he would never have acquired the clearness of view and moral courage which distinguished his advocacy of reform.

His labours received still greater assistance from the fact, that Bohemia was already in great part prepared to receive his teaching. Many Katharians and Waldenses, driven from France with fire and sword, had sought refuge in the east of Europe, and had so well established their faith in their new homes, that the king, Przemisl Ottokar found it necessary to entreat Pope Alexander IV. to send "heretic masters" to Bohemia, to root out dissent. Moreover, three famous men, Conrad Stecken, John Milicz, and Matthias of Janow, had already preached against the vices of the clergy, and thus the soil lay ready for the seed. But of still greater influence was the fact, that the Sclaves of Bohemia possessed a translation of the Bible, of which they had

never allowed themselves to be deprived, and there were many churches in the country where sermons were constantly preached in the vernacular. When, therefore, Huss was known to address his congregation in the Bethlehem chapel in the Bohemian tongue, denouncing the vices of the Roman priesthood, the fact excited little comment, his ecclesiastical brethren never dreaming he contemplated an actual rupture with Catholicism. Until the year 1408, Huss met with no opposition; then, for the first time, Archbishop Sbinco,* of Prague, bethought him of commencing proceedings against the innovator.

But the ill-will of the archbishop was of no further importance, for King Wenzel IV., who then ruled Bohemia, was no friend to Catholicism, or rather to the Catholic priesthood; and, consequently, not only took Huss under his protection, but appointed him Rector of the Prague University. Huss naturally found his courage rise higher, and the more boldly he declared his doctrines, the faster his followers increased, so that by 1409 they formed already no inconsiderable party in the country. At length the attention of Pope Alexander V. was called to these heretical proceedings, and in September of the same year he issued a Bull, addressed to Archbishop Sbinco, calling on him to suppress the Wickliffite heresy in Bohemia, and especially forbid the public exposition of its doctrines in the Bohemian language.

* Sbinco, of Hassenberg, had received the archiepiscopal mitre in 1403, but was so notorious for his ignorance, that he was called by scarce any other name than the Alphabetarius—the A. B. C. dunce.

Sbinco assembled a synod in 1410, when the Wickliffite books were condemned to the flames, as well as all other works of a similar tendency. Two hundred of these offending compositions, all handsomely bound, were delivered to the archbishop, and he had them privately burnt in the court yard of his palace; but King Wenzel was so little in accord with this proceeding, that on learning it he at once obliged the archbishop to restore the value destroyed to the original owners. The pope on his part was no better pleased, and commanded Sbinco to lay Bethlehem chapel, where Huss had preached, immediately under the interdict. This interdict was extended over the whole city of Prague in 1411, so that the detested preaching in the mother tongue might be put an end to. King Wenzel, quite regardless of the pope's ban, commanded his clergy to fulfil their functions as before.

Encouraged by this, Hieronymus set forth through all the Sclavish countries to preach the gospel, and call on the kings and rulers to let themselves be dictated to no longer by an arrogant priesthood. He even ventured to turn the pictured saints out of the churches; and, denouncing the monasteries as "sinks of iniquity and corruption," proceeded to their demolition with the arm of the flesh. Huss, too, growing ever bolder, began to openly advocate the doctrines of Wickliffe, though denounced by the pope as heretical. He next published a refutation of a certain Stokes, who employed much ingenuity and learning in an attempt to overturn Wickliffe's views; and then Pope John XXIII., who had succeeded Alexander V., feeling the moment had come

to take some more decided step, despatched Cardinal Colonna to Prague, to ascertain if John Huss were really a heretic or not. The cardinal went; had several interviews with Huss, and endeavoured, by every possible inducement, to make him abandon his doctrines. But the clear-headed Bohemian was insensible to his persuasions, and Pope John had no course left but to cite the recusant before the judgment seat at Rome. Huss would have gone unhesitatingly, but King Wenzel, still more Queen Sophia, laid a positive veto on the journey; and an embassy was despatched in his stead, to arrange some new basis with the pope on which to settle the questions at issue. John XXIII. in part consented; he was averse to seriously offending King Wenzel, fearing he might go over to one of the other two reigning popes. He, therefore, appointed a new commission of four cardinals, to investigate the matter thoroughly; but the cardinals had pleasanter occupation, and were ill-disposed to plunge into a theological controversy,—and so the affair was allowed to drag through a long course of years. Moreover, in 1411, Archbishop Sbinco died, and his successor, Albinus, caring for little else than filling his own coffers, the whole matter was suffered to drop; and Huss and his colleagues continued to preach without hindrance, spreading the doctrines of their master, Wickliffe, ever wider.

The affair was, however, soon to assume another aspect. In 1412 certain "pardoners" came to Prague, making their entrance with the customary insolence of their craft. Huss and Hieronymus at once attacked the monstrous abuses represented by them. The majesty

of God was outraged by the very doctrine of indulgences, Huss cried, and the pope had no power to release men from their sins at the price of a few broad pieces. Hieronymus exhibited still more uncompromising energy: he burnt the Bull of Indulgences, publicly in the market place, and gave the pardoners, on meeting them by chance, not only hard home truths, but exposed them in such a manner that the defeated charlatans were but too glad to make their escape from Prague, where, indeed, all the more respectable part of the inhabitants were on the side of the reformers. Such proceedings proved a bitter morsel for a pope to swallow; and John XXIII. saw therein the drying up of a source of revenue he could ill brook losing. He therefore, in 1413, pronounced sentence of excommunication against the chief schismatic and his followers, laid the whole city of Prague under an interdict, and called on King Wenzel to seize the persons of all heretics and deliver them to the flames.

At first this had no result; things proceeded in Bohemia as before; but, after a time, the interdict proved so irritating and oppressive, that the king besought Huss to leave for a time, that the city might be freed of the ban. So the reformer retired to his native place, where he, moreover, was allowed to live quite undisturbed.*

In the meantime (anno 1414) the famous Council of Constance met, with the proposed object of restoring peace to the catholic world; and Huss was shortly sum-

* How oppressively the interdict worked, we may judge from the single fact, that for a whole year the king was obliged to employ his immediate attendants in burying the dead of the city; as all such offices were refused by the church on account of the papal ban.

moned to appear before it. He well knew his bitterest foes among the Bohemian clergy,—Stephen Palecz, Michael de Causis, Andreas Broda, and several others, were amongst its members. He had every reason to suppose the Roman cardinals would be little scrupulous for the means, so they secured his person, and could deliver him to the flames; but the ambassadors who brought the letter of invitation contrived to persuade their truth-loving victim that, at the Council, which was intended for the reformation of the church, a fair and impartial investigation of Wickliffe's doctrines would be made. Moreover, Huss received a safe conduct from the Emperor, Sigismund III., in which he found himself signalised as the "very honourable John Huss," whom "all the subjects of his imperial majesty were commanded to let pass, remain or return without let or hindrance." Therefore, how could he reasonably have refused to obey? especially as the emperor commissioned two Bohemian nobles, John of Chlum, and Wenzel of Dubna, to accompany him. Huss left Prague in the autumn of 1414, to proceed to Costniz, and arrived at his destination on the 3rd of November, 1414, after a journey of twenty days, and took up his abode, with his few attendants, in the house of a certain widow, named Fida.

Alas! he had entered the jaws of destruction; and henceforth his doom was sealed.*

* A presentiment of his coming fate seems to have been felt by Huss before quitting Prague. He left a letter for his most intimate friend, a certain Magister Martin, which was only to be opened if certain intelligence of his death should come. On the journey, his spirits exhibited no sign of depression. Wherever he appeared, he was received with the greatest reverence and devotion. In many cities through

For the first twenty-six days he remained unmolested, except that on the 4th of November Michael de Causis caused a public accusation to be affixed to the town walls and church doors, in which John Huss was described as a heretic and excommunicate, who, moreover, had been driven out of Bohemia for mean and deceitful practices. To this attack, Huss, by the advice of his friends, paid no attention whatever. Moreover, Pope John XXIII. swore, when the knight of Chlum announced to him the arrival of Huss, that no hair of his head should be in-injured, even though he had murdered his (the pope's) own brother. The excommunication formerly pronounced against the heretic, was removed; and he was assured, that thenceforth his freedom would be held inviolate.

Huss was soon, however, to learn the value of a Romanist oath; for on the 28th of November, 1414, the bishops of Augsburg and Trident, appeared as legates from the pope, accompanied by the burgomaster of Costniz, and invited him to appear before the "College of Cardinals," to answer for, and explain his doctrines. Huss replied, he was there to attend the General Council, not the cardinals'; but that he would still submit to this new demand. He then left his house with the three emissaries, and accompanied by the knight of Chlum, they entered the hall in which the cardinals were assembled, who angrily greeted Huss as an "arch heretic," and

which his route lay, he preached in public to enthusiastic congregations; and the catholic clergy in no instance offered any opposition. His journey was even distinguished by a certain public pomp; messengers in nearly every instance preceded him, to announce his coming, so that the streets through which he passed were thronged with crowds of people, eager to behold the far-famed John Huss.

at a sign given a number of armed men appeared, seized the so foully-betrayed victim, and at once carried him away to the monastery of the Grey Friars, at a short distance, on the Rhine. In vain the knight of Chlum loudly protested against the act, hurried from the emperor to the pope, and openly proclaimed it false and treacherous. His efforts could not avail John Huss, whose sentence had long been determined—death alone was to set him free.

At first the victim's captivity was comparatively mild; he was allowed to correspond with, and even hold, personal intercourse with his friends; but early in the year 1415, he was transferred to a Dominican monastery, and his imprisonment at once grew far more severe. The demand of the pope, however, that the detested heretic should be "at once given over to the flames without a trial," was not agreed to; the Emperor Sigismund insisting a regular inquiry into the alleged offences should be instituted, though he paid little regard to the Bohemian nobles, who hastened to Costniz, in considerable numbers, to remind him of the safe conduct he had given to Huss. The pope and the Romanists, the emperor and the Imperialists, finally agreed to appoint a Commission of Investigation; and this commission, constituted by three bishops, was immediately created, and assumed the whole conduct of the trial, though its chief purpose was, by great promises, to induce the prisoner to recant. Huss, notwithstanding, remained unmoved, and continually repeating his demand for a public hearing before the assembled council.

He was, therefore, at the beginning of April, trans-

ferred to the fortress of Gottlieben (Love of God), lower down the Rhine, in the hope of bringing him to submission, by additional severity. In the meantime (April 4th), Hieronymus arrived secretly at Constance to assist his friend in the defence of their mutual faith; but as the emperor refused the safe conduct for which he applied, he as suddenly left the town and proceeded to Uberlingen. But on the night previous to his departure he affixed a notification on the church doors, and on the residences of the cardinals and the more important of the bishops, to the effect, that he held himself ready to appear and answer any charges, on receiving a safe conduct to that effect. The Romanists replied, by commanding John von Salzbach, the count Palatine, to seize and send Hieronymus, without delay, to Constance. The count Palatine obeyed. The fiery reformer was secured, loaded with chains, and taken by his captor to Costniz, where he was consigned to the same Dominican cloister in which his friend John Huss had been imprisoned. Thus, instead of one, two prisoners were in safe keeping.

Huss, this whole time, was allowed no respite from persecution, his old enemy, Stephen Palicz, constantly visiting his dungeon, and always to repeat the same refrain: "Recant, or die!" The Commission was now increased by twenty doctors of divinity, and the examinations renewed daily. No attempt was made at these examinations to refute Huss, but only to make him renounce his faith. Every effort proved futile: he would concede no iota of his belief, only admitting that,—"If he had taught any thing contrary to the holy scriptures,

he would gladly renounce it; but so long as this was not made evident, he must abide by what he had preached and written."

He demanded, in accordance with the emperor's promise, to be allowed to defend his cause before the assembled Council, but the Romanists used their utmost influence to prevent such a possibility, as they, above all things, desired to have the trial take place in private. They feared that Huss, once confronted with the Council, might utter truths too dangerous for catholicism; and, therefore, they resolved to attempt to pass final sentence on him in a secret sitting, proposed for the 5th of June.*

Kaiser Sigismund III. would not yield his consent under any conditions; and thus, on the 6th of June, the much-redoubted public trial was to take place. But what manner of trial was it?

Chlum and Dubna accompanied Huss, and the emperor was present in person; but scarcely had the prisoner

* They met that day, not in the hall where all their previous deliberations had been held, but at the Minorite monastery; and after the Special Commission had given in its Report, and sentence of condemnation was on the point of being recorded, without the prisoner having been heard,—for, in the words of the sentence: "his heresy had been sufficiently proven,"—suddenly, the Rhine Palatine, Ludwig, and Count Friedrich, of Nuremberg, entered the conclave, and declared, by command of the emperor, "that sentence should not be passed before Huss had been heard in his own defence." The high dignitaries were sorely disconcerted; they could not conceive by what means the kaiser had penetrated their scheme. It happened very simply, however. A certain Peter Mlodanyewicz, a secret friend of John Huss, seeing through the cunning of the princes of the church, warned the Barons Dubna and Chlum of this private meeting, and thus enabled them to inform Sigismund of it in time to forestal its purpose.

entered the great hall, where seven hundred prelates and doctors of the church were assembled; and scarcely were the first of the seven hundred and forty charges, founded on his writings, recited by the commission, than the reverend fathers raised so wild a tumult and clamour, that their own words could not be distinguished in the general hubbub, still less understood. This indecent scene lasted not a few minutes,—a whole hour elapsed before order could be restored, or the business of the day commenced.

At length comparative quiet returned, and then Huss exclaimed, "he had thought in a council of the church it were fitting that order and decorum should be observed." These words so incensed the high ecclesiastics, that the clamour broke forth again louder than ever. In short, the sitting had to be broken up without anything being done. It was little better the following day (7th June); even then Huss was scarcely allowed to unclose his lips, when the holy fathers renewed their vituperations, until they forced him to silence: then they cried, "see! the heretic is confounded; we need no further evidence." On the third day he was allowed to speak, but then only because his sentence was already determined on. An acquittal, indeed, was impossible, amid the hate he had excited by doctrines which threatened the whole fabric of papal temporal power. When all the various charges had been recapitulated to him, and he had defended and explained his opinions in a long address, not one of the prelates there attempted to confute his defence, but they all cried, as he closed, "he is confuted." Then Cardinal

de Cambrai finally rose, and informed the accused, he must either unconditionally submit himself to the will of the council, and recant, or die.

"Recant! recant!" cried every voice, the Emperor Sigismund with the rest; adding, that if Huss would do so, he should be set free under a very slight penalty. But Huss was steadfast; and the emperor, annoyed at such persistent obstinacy, commanded his removal to prison. Then followed a long pause: though the princes of the church had resolved on the prisoner's doom, Sigismund yet hesitated to subscribe sentence of death, after giving the royal word he should be suffered to return free and uninjured to Bohemia. Twice again, on the 1st and 5th of July, 1415, the prisoner was summoned before the court, and every means tried to bring him to submission; but as all alike failed, on the following day (the sixth) final sentence of condemnation was recorded, alike against his person and his writings. When the proceedings had closed, Huss fell on his knees, and besought God that he might have strength to pardon the injustice of his foes. Then seven bishops approached, and tore the priestly vestments from his person, cut away the tonsure,* and placed a high paper cap, painted with devils, on his head.

Then the usual maledictory formula commenced, and

* Whilst preparing for this part of the ceremony, the seven fell into an angry discussion whether it should be done by the scissors or a razor, so that Huss at length exclaimed: "In the name of cruelty make up your minds. Why not in the manner in which it was originally made." The scissors were at length victorious, and the dispute ended.

when the soul of the martyr had been thrice devoted to the devil, under the bitterest imprecations, he was handed over to the temporal power, for the consummation of the sentence.

The arrangements for his burning had been long completed, and he proceeded at once from the judgment hall to the place of execution. We must be pardoned if we hurry over those dreadful moments succeeding. On his way to the stake, Huss was made to halt in front of the episcopal palace, and see his books consigned to the flames, amid the shouts of the excited populace. Smiling bitterly, he exclaimed: "I marvel wherefore they burn writings as heretical which they in part cannot understand, and assuredly cannot refute." On reaching the place of execution, he kneeled down, prayed in a low voice, then rose, and would have addressed the assembled crowd, but was immediately gagged, bound to the stake, and the faggots ignited around him. A revolting scene followed; women previously worked into a frenzy of fanaticism by the priests, pressed forward to heap the foulest insults on the martyr. But their words were unheeded by him. He had died almost instantly, suffocated in the smoke. As soon as this was perceived, the executioner's assistant tore the lifeless body to pieces with iron hooks, that it might be more completely consumed; but carefully impaling the heart on a spear, to roast it over the flames. When all was over, and nothing remained of John Huss but a little heap of ashes; these were carefully gathered up, and cast into the Rhine, so that no one might pre-

serve the smallest atom in remembrance of the noble-hearted victim.

So died John Huss; and the pope, and the whole Romish clergy proved they could make no other reply to heresy, or, rather, to enlightenment and truth, than by its annihilation. But, though Huss was annihilated, Hieronymus, who was guilty of the same crimes, still lived, and merited no less a punishment; for until this second exarch of heresy was silenced for ever, there was no hope of making an end of heresy. Whilst John Huss was enduring a martyr's death, Hieronymus lay in the dark tower of the Dominican monastery, his feet fastened to a heavy log, and his body so manacled, he could neither sit, stand, nor lie in a natural position. He received no food but bread and water, and that so sparingly, he grew more like to a skeleton than a living human creature. The cell, or den rather, in which he lay, was never cleaned; damp straw constituted its only furniture, until its atmosphere grew veritably pestilential. Hieronymus fell very sick; but this was employed to further increase his sufferings, and for a long time neither a doctor nor confessor was suffered to approach him. The object of his persecutors was to reduce his bodily and mental powers, that recantation might at length be wrung from his very weakness; such a recantation published throughout the Catholic world, would have been of far more advantage to Catholicism than his execution by fire.

The princes of the church sent emissaries again and again, to paint to him in the most terrible colours all

the horrors of a death at the stake, and by these, and various other means at their disposal, they at length gained their end. On the 23rd September, 1415, the so sorely tried captive was carried (he was too weak to walk) to the great hall, where the council was assembled, and there declared "he held the doctrines of Huss and Wickliffe as damnable, and from thenceforth concurred in all the dogmas, and institutions, and observances of the church of Rome." There was frantic rejoicing as he pronounced these words, though, indeed, he did but repeat them as they were dictated to him; and he was palpably so utterly shattered in mind and body, that his admissions could not have been regarded as the result of conviction. But this was a matter of secondary moment; the chief point was the triumph gained in the mere fact of his recantation.

Thenceforth his imprisonment assumed a milder character; he was allowed not only better food, but was removed to a place less unfit for human habitation; still he was not set at liberty. Four cardinals, and several bishops declared for his immediate liberation; they considered a new martyrdom inexpedient, as experience had shown each fiery execution made so peculiar an impression on the people, that instead of hindering heresy, it always brought forth fresh heretics. Another party in the council, and a far more numerous one, including, moreover, the two Bohemian prelates, Stephen Palecz and Michael de Causis, were of opinion safety could alone be secured by the death of a heretic, as recantation could always be again withdrawn. The sterner opinion prevailed in the end. And how well

justified it was grew evident, when, on the 26th of May, 1416, Hieronymus appeared again before the council. Long prior to that date, as soon, indeed, as his removal to a better prison had secured the restoration of his physical powers, he had bitterly repented having yielded to his priestly tempters, openly declaring it was but from the horror of being burnt alive that made him belie his conscience, and condemn doctrines which alone were true. He spoke of Johannes Huss as a godly man, deserving all honour, whose shoe latchet no one in that assembly was worthy to unloose, and solemnly declared, for no act of his life did he feel such keen remorse, as for that sinful recantation wrung from him on that 23rd of September, 1415. In short, he asserted so openly and unhesitatingly his devotion to the principles of the English Reformer, and met his enemies with such unflinching manliness and greatness of soul, that even pope Martin's secretary, the learned Florentine Poggio, was filled with wonder at his courage, eloquence, and fortitude.*

* Poggio says:—"Never have I heard a man so nearly approach the great orators of antiquity as Hieronymus. He defended himself so eloquently, so modestly, and ingeniously, that I am truly unable to describe it. And though it was his life and soul in jeopardy, he yet contrived to speak the most solemn truths with wit and pleasant conceits. He so touched all hearts, that many tears rose into the eyes of those assembled there. But instead of entreating mercy for himself, he discoursed wholly of Huss, as of a pious and holy man, condemned unjustly; for Huss had taught nothing contrary to Christianity, had but attacked the abuses of the church, the pride and arrogance of the priests, and the recklessness with which they waste the heritage of the poor, in drinking, feasting, gaming, hunting, and lechery. He defended his dead friend with boldness and energy, and his marvellous eloquence must be the more admired, seeing he had been kept close in a dark,

Very different feelings possessed the holy fathers composing the council; they merely allowed him two days for reflection, that he might come to a better frame of mind. But on this occasion they deceived themselves, if they thought to obtain a second recantation from him. Hieronymus repelled all their offers, and declared he would rather endure the most agonising death, than purchase life at the cost of his conscience.

On the 30th of May the council met to pronounce sentence on Hieronymus, and he suffered on the same day. In the cathedral of Constance the priestly robes were stripped from his person, and a high, devil bepainted cap, such as Huss had worn, was placed on his head. "There is no disgrace in it," he calmly said, "for Jesus Christ also wore a crown of thorns." The whole way to the place of execution he continued to sing or pray, and when bound to the stake, and the executioner out of pity would have ignited the faggots from behind, the victim exclaimed, his voice never trembling:—"Light the fire in my sight; had I feared it, I should never have come to this pass, which I could so easily have avoided."

Heroically—a second Scævola, died Hieronymus of Prague. His sufferings in the flames lasted a long quarter of an hour, then his ashes, like those of John Huss, were thrown into the Rhine.*

damp tower, for more than three hundred days. Yet, despite this, he exhibited a presence of mind, and contempt of death, which cannot but call forth our wonder, and I can call him by no other title than that of a second Cato. Verily his name deserveth eternal honour."

* The best witness to the sublime courage with which Hieronymus met his fate we have in Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., who

The two great apostles of evangelical truth were thus destroyed, and destroyed for having invoked that truth; but was Roman Catholicism therefore saved, or saved permanently? The contrary was, indeed, the case. The more intelligent portion of mankind clearly perceived that Huss and his friend had been sacrificed, because they attacked the worldly interests of the papacy, and hatred and contempt of Romish policy and Romanist principles was the result. The most enraged, as we can readily imagine, were the fellow-countrymen of the martyrs, the people of Bohemia, who had been thus cruelly deceived, both by the pope and the emperor. Their indignation soon brought on a war, alike with the papacy and the emperor; a war, perhaps, never exceeded in the fierceness of the passions it called forth, and which plunged their whole country into the direst misery.

For the greater misfortune of Bohemia the inhabitants were divided into two great parties, formed by the true, or Sclavo-Bohemians, and the German. The latter, who since the time of the Emperor Charles IV., had acquired a considerable part of the land, and for that very reason were bitterly hated by the former, were devoted to the German emperor, whilst the Sclavo-Bohemians desired an independent kingdom. This poli-

says:—"He went to execution as to a festival; no sound escaped his lips which could have been interpreted as an indication of weakness. He sang hymns of praise amid the flames until breath failed him; and never did philosopher of old drain the poison cup with greater calmness, than he endured the long agony of the fire." So writes Æneas Sylvius, an eye witness of the scene.

tical division now led on to a religious one. Although the Bohemians, whether of Teutonic or Zech descent, were attached to the teaching of Huss, the Zechs renounced the whole system of the Roman Catholic priesthood, saint worship, miraculous pictures, &c., and took their stand on the ground of a complete reformation, based on the New Testament; whilst the Germans, who were always well disposed to the papacy, only demanded certain ameliorations of its usages, especially in the innovation which forbade the sacrament in two kinds to the laity, an innovation against which Huss had emphatically protested.*

Thus arose the Utraquist and Taborite sects. Originated in some slight doctrinal differences, they were soon divided by the fiercest rancour and hatred, and mutually massacred each other during long years of fratricidal war. The Utraquisten were so called from employing the sacrament, "sub utraque specie." For the same reason they were also styled Calixtines, from the Latin word *calix* (a chalice). The Taborites were thus entitled by themselves: for, finding that the reformation

* The Catholic church in primitive times was accustomed to bestow the bread and wine in communion, as Christ had done, alike to all partakers, and several popes and synods positively declared it a damnable heresy to neglect taking both—bread and wine. But as the dogma of the mysterious transubstantiation of the elements of the sacrament into actual flesh and blood gained acceptance, great anxiety was felt lest any atom should fall to the ground; and thence a decree was published at Rome in the twelfth century, forbidding the sacramental bread from being broken, and directing especial care to the wine, since a drop of it might so easily be spilt. To avoid the possibility of any accident of the kind, the idea was conceived of forbidding the chalice to the laity; and this regulation became canonical law in the fourteenth century, and received the ratification of the Council of Constance in 1415.

demanded by the Utraquists was but a compromise, and did not thoroughly cast off the papacy, they conceived it their duty to guard themselves as jealously against the too "undecided and lukewarm," as against the thorough Romanists. They, to this end, took possession of Mount Hradistin, on which some old fortresses still remained standing; and having named it Tabor, in memory of the Tabor in Palestine, the scene of Christ's transfiguration, built on it a strongly fortified town,—afterwards their chief rallying point, when hostilities had broken out. We must not linger over the Hussite war, with all its varying fortunes and indescribable horrors. It is a subject fitter for general history than for our present outline sketch. We can dwell only on those points which bring it into connection with the subject immediately occupying us, and illustrate papal influence on the strife.

After the death of Huss and Hieronymus, five hundred and fifty Bohemian knights and barons were cited, in 1416, before the Council of Constance, to answer for the notorious protection afforded by them to heretics. Not one of the number obeyed the summons. Still the Council did not venture to take any further measures against them, as it could scarcely hope the emperor would be induced to make war on King Wenzel, his own brother, who was indeed the chief protector of the heresy. Pope Martin V. knew no such considerateness; for having once secured his seat on the papal throne, in the commencement of 1418, he fulminated an angry address to the barons of Bohemia, in which he declared: "that though, at the entreaty of the Emperor Sigismund

he had until then let the sword of the church rest in the scabbard," unless he was assured of instant obedience, he should forthwith institute a crusade against the heresy. He at the same time despatched Cardinal de St. Sixtus as his legate to Prague,—charged to leave no means untried in bringing every heretic back to the true church.

The cardinal did not lack zeal; but conversions were not so readily to be effected. During the summer of 1419, he contrived to get an anti-Hussite town Council appointed by the Government, for the so-called New Town of Prague, which was especially Hussite in tendency; and the council at once commanded the removal of the sacramental chalices from the churches. Thus was the war originated. The inhabitants, wildly exasperated, were led by the terrible Ziska, and proceeded to storm the Town House, and threw the councillors from the windows on to the lances of the mob assembled below.

The tumult became universal, gathering fresh strength from every corner of the city. For the misfortune of his country, King Wenzel, the protector of the Hussites, shortly died, 16th of August, 1419, leaving no children; so the throne was claimed by his brother, the Emperor Sigismund. But the prince who was the avowed friend of the popes,—he, who had permitted Huss and Hieronymus to expire at the stake,—how could he be accepted as their king by the people of Bohemia? The few catholics in the country declared for him, but the majority of the inhabitants could not for a moment entertain the idea of such a master. The Utraquist barons wrote to the kaiser that they would acknowledge him only, on condition he consented to allow them full liberty to read

the scriptures and use the sacrament, in both kinds. The Taborites were less yielding; they at once prepared for an appeal to the sword. Sigismund, on his part, assembled an army, to secure obedience by the strong hand; and the pope charged his legate, John Dominico, to travel through Europe, calling all good Christians to join in a crusade against the Hussites. The emperor marched into Bohemia, and, under "the blessing of the church," spread havoc wherever he appeared. Fire, murder, and the violation of young girls and matrons, were the arms he used to restore the older faith; but he yet forced to make a precipitate retreat from Prague, with such desperate bravery was the city defended, and shortly afterwards was completely defeated by Nicholas of Husiniecz, Ziska's lieutenant, near Mount Tabor. The catholics then endured, in their turn, all the horrors their opponents had been made to suffer. Churches and monasteries were fired, and priests and monks thrown into the flames. In short, it was no human strife, but rather a struggle of wild beasts. Not long after, in 1420, the Calixtines, or Utraquists, offered the crown to King Wladislas of Poland, and on his refusal, to Witold, Prince of Lithuania. But Ziska and his Taborites would not recognise the candidate; they would accept no foreign ruler: and thus came the complete schism between them and the Utraquists, and both thenceforth held strictly to their own distinguishing doctrines. The war, in future, raged not between catholic and Hussite merely, but between Hussite and Hussite—Taborists and Utraquists—the "thorough" reformers against the "lukewarm."

The whole land weltered in blood, whilst the pope despatched ever new volunteers to the war; for with nothing but the complete annihilation of the Hussites, Utraquists and Taborites alike, could he rest content. He died at length on the 27th of February, 1431; but if the Bohemians indulged any hope of consequent peace for their country,—they were cruelly deceived. Cardinal Gabriel Condolmerio, a man whose prototype we can find, perhaps, only in Pope John XXIII., was chosen pope, under the title of Eugenius IV., and began his reign by causing a crusade to be preached against the Bohemians throughout all Europe; so that an end, once for all, might be made of the heretics. The inducements offered the crusaders were great: not only were they "authorised to rob and plunder," but even "commanded to do so as a pious duty." Thus a great army was collected with little difficulty. But of what elements it was composed, the reader may only too readily imagine: the offscourings of every land were there;—miscreants, who had evaded, or too well deserved, the gallows. They marched into Bohemia, and there did such deeds the pen may well refuse to describe. Taborites and Utraquists, men and women, old age and infancy,—all that fell into the power of the invaders, were slaughtered without mercy; for were not the crusaders assured, the uprooting of heresy was a "work agreeable to God?" Nor was massacre alone held sufficient: torture of prisoners, robbery, plunder, incendiarism, violence in every form, became as much a part of their system of warfare as slaughter itself; whilst every mark of contumely was lavished on the Hussite,—their very sacramental vessels

used by the catholics to water their horses. The accompanying priests went hand in hand in every crime,—lighting, with pious eagerness, the great bonfires which soon were blazing throughout the land, and into which the heretics were thrown in hundreds. Is it, then, strange, that under such influences the Hussites should presently retaliate the same cruelties which they were made to endure? Indeed, it too often happened, that when a catholic town was taken by them, every human creature in it, from feeble infancy to helpless old age, was thrust over the dark bridge of death. Their women became rather tigresses, and stabbed their sister catholics and catholic babes, with maniac fury. It is difficult to say which party exhibited the greater violence; but this is at least certain, that the responsibility for all the horrors of the war lies with the papacy, and its watchword, "Destruction."

Yet mighty as was the host of the Crusaders gathered together by Eugenius IV., it was unable to withstand the Hussite army,* and the hope of subjecting the land proved again illusory.

* The crusading army, under the command of the Elector Frederick of Brandenburg and Cardinal Julian, numbered 40,000 horse, 90,000 foot, 9,000 baggage waggons, 151 field pieces.

Procopius, surnamed the Great, the general in chief of Hussite forces after Ziska's death, had but 5,000 cavalry, 40,000 infantry, 3,000 baggage waggons, and about fifty pieces of artillery; but at the pitched battle which took place on the 14th of August, the dastard Catholic mercenaries took flight after a brief contest, leaving all their camp equipage and fire-arms in the hands of the patriots. The victory of the Hussites was complete, and at the close of the day they found themselves in possession of all the enemy's cannon, and had slain besides 20,000 of the crusading heroes.

Since fire and sword had failed, it was found necessary to try other means to reach the end desired—and other means were not long in being found. Deceit and treachery were now to win the so long delayed victory. The Romanists suddenly bethought them of the wide divergence of doctrine existing between the two great Hussite sects; and it seemed feasible enough to gain over the Utraquists, the more moderate of the two, by some affected concessions, when the Taborites, once cast on their own unaided resources, might be easily overcome. This achieved, the concessions could be retracted, and the Utraquists also destroyed. The scheme was well laid, and put in action by the assistance of the Council of Bâle.

The Utraquists were told:—"You are divided from us Catholics, by so small an interval, chiefly, indeed, by the dogma regarding the chalice in the sacrament of communion, and if we are content to forego the disputed point, wherefore should you not consent to reunite with us?" The perfidious suggestion found but too ready a welcome from the nobles of the party addressed; the more so, as the Taborites, represented chiefly by the lower classes, were intent, not only on obtaining religious, but political enfranchisement.

In January, 1434, a diet assembled at Prague, and as papal legates appeared the astute Cardinal Polomar, and the not less astute and unscrupulous Bishop Philibert of Costniz. They brought a formal confession of uniformity, the so-called "Compact," drawn up by the Council of Bâle, by which the Bohemians were assured that the pope would fully authorise them in the use of

the sacrament in both kinds, on condition of their conforming in other things to the doctrines of the Catholic church. On such a basis peace was readily effected.*

The minds of the Utraquists had long been prepared for such a result; the more so after the violent Romanists, John of Prezbram, and John Rocyzcama (the latter was promised by the pope the Utraquist archbishopric of Prague), had contrived to secure to themselves the whole management of church affairs. The pope was beside himself with joy at the turn events had taken: —now at length it would be possible to vanquish the Taborites. Indeed, the Utraquists united at once with the Catholics, trusting to restore peace to their distracted country. At the diet held 1434, they appointed Alsass Riesenberg, commander in chief of their forces; and as the Taborites refused to conform to the conditions of this peace lately made with Rome, determined to declare war against them.

It was above all things requisite to place a strong garrison in Prague, for the capital had constantly been

* The Utraquists at first made two other requisitions: the first of these—that the Scriptures should be publicly expounded in the vernacular tongue; to this the legates at once consented, with only the apparently unimportant proviso, that every preacher of the Gospel should be a regularly ordained Roman Catholic priest. But this condition actually nullified the concession, for every such priest was necessarily dependent on the pope, and it may therefore be readily imagined what manner of exposition such a priest's would be.

The legates met the other demand with no less benignity, especially the clause which required that no bishop or priest should hold any temporal property whatever. They emphasized the word "property," and afterwards explained it away, by declaring that church property could only be "administered," not "possessed," by the clergy.

the very focus of all the insurrectionary movements, and as it chanced that the Procopius the Great, the chief leader of the Taborites, was then laying siege to Pilsen, which he had moreover vowed to destroy for its Romanism, the allied Catholics and Utraquists hoped to attain their object with little difficulty. Without any previous declaration of war, the chief city of Bohemia was suddenly attacked; for it was desirable to secure it an entrance ere Procopius could come to the rescue. In the "Old Town," chiefly inhabited by the "lukewarm" section of the Hussites, but little resistance was offered; but so much the more desperate was it in the "New Town," where dwelt the self-styled Orebites (they took the name from Mount Horeb); but were undistinguished from the Taborites by any doctrinal difference; they had, however, their own leaders, and were remarkable for their wild fanaticism. Then commenced a sanguinary contest, which lasted through three successive days; no battle; but rather a wild massacre, for quarter was shown on neither side. Not until the evening of the third day approached, and when 22,000 Orebites, men, women, and children, had been slaughtered, did the "New Town" succumb," and consent to acknowledge the "Compact."

The allied Catholics and Utraquists were now masters of Prague, but Bohemia was not therefore pacified; the chief struggle was still to come. Procopius the Great learning the massacre which had taken place in the new town, at once raised the siege of Pilsen, and advanced with his veterans to the rescue of his co-religionists. The Romanists and Utraquists, well knowing the re-

doubtable character of their opponent, transferred the chief command of their forces to the bold Mainhard von Neuhaus, and he quickly raised the number of his army to 100,000 men, whilst Procopius had not more than 30,000.

On the 30th of May, 1413, a battle took place at Böhmischbrod, between Lipan and Hrzrb, and never had the world witnessed a more sanguinary encounter. The weakest part of the Taborite army was its cavalry, and therefore Neuhaus employed all his skill to put them to flight at the commencement of the day, trusting it would then be easy to make the rest follow their example. He succeeded; they fled; but Procopius, undismayed, threw himself at the head of his bravest soldiers into the midst of the enemy's ranks, and so great was the shock inflicted, that the army of Neuhaus, notwithstanding its vast numerical superiority, was nearly broken asunder. A wall of corpses grew round Procopius and his faithful followers; thousands of Romanists and Utraquists fell beneath their swords. But the Taborites suffered severely, and the little band of heroes grew ever thinner, and more thin. Procopius at length found death; but not until he had grown well nigh exhausted with the work of slaughter. Procopius the Little fell by the side of the general, with the greater number of his officers. The contest at length could be maintained no longer; and those of the Taborites who still survived, and had not been taken prisoners, retreated, to seek refuge in the stout fortress of Mount Tabor.

The allies were completely master of all Bohemia, the

town of Tabor alone excepted. But they employed their triumph not as men, but as bloodhounds, or men whom the lust of blood had made mad. Immediately after their great victory an enormous pile of faggots was raised, then set on fire, and all their prisoners thrown into the flames. The army broke up into small bands, and wandered over the country in search of concealed Taborites, and whenever one was secured, he or she was immediately consigned to the stake. Massacre, and continued massacre, was the only means of pacification adopted, as it had been in the south of France in earlier times. Yet despite the efforts of the zealous heretic hunters, all the Taborites could not be tracked out; those in the castle and town of Tabor maintained themselves for several years, until wearied by the struggle they finally retreated, sword in hand, to the territories of the famous George de Podiebrad, to found there a quiet, peace-loving "fraternity."

By blood and fire the papacy was once more reinstated, but the Reformation was none the less inevitable!

CHAPTER IV.

EXTIRPATION OF PROTESTANTISM THROUGHOUT THE KINGDOMS OF EUROPE.

Our readers are, we doubt not, well acquainted with the story of the rise and triumph of the Reformation, under Luther, Zwingle, Calvin, and their coadjutors in the cause.

In the sixteenth century millions simultaneously threw off the degrading yoke to which they and their fathers had so long been compelled to bow. Religious enlightenment, or, in other words, the doctrines of the primitive church—for the Reformation proposed nothing more than the restoration of the Christianity founded by Christ and his apostles—religious enlightenment spread so fast, it soon penetrated every country in Europe. In every land, where, until then, the papacy had ruled supreme, Protestantism suddenly asserted itself, and in many places almost entirely supplanted Roman Catholicism. Never since its origin had the papacy to pass through so perilous a crisis; but never did it employ means so terrible, deeds of such dark iniquity for self preservation. Not thousands, or tens of thousands, as in Toulouse or Prague, but whole millions were now

murdered, and with circumstances of atrocity of which the history of the world affords no example. Millions of men and women were tortured, martyred, murdered in cold blood, that the power of Rome might be upheld. In what manner the popes began this great work, and laid the train for its proper fulfilment in the various countries where their power extended, it is now our purpose to briefly investigate. We commence with that one in which the Reformation itself originated.

(1). The Extirpation of Protestantism in Germany.

The words we thus employ are, however, self-contradicted; Protestantism was not extirpated in Germany, and it still holds there its chief seat and chief power; but its destruction was not the less attempted, and attempted by every conceivable method, the most infamous included. Success followed unhappily in too many places, even where the new doctrines had taken fast hold; but fire and sword were found unanswerable enforcers of conformity, as in the days of the earlier crusades against dissentients.

That out of 42,000,000 Germans, 14,000,000 remained Protestant, and succeeded in holding the papacy at defiance, we have to thank the fact that the German empire was from of old constituted by an agglomeration of smaller sovereignties, under a chief potentate—the emperor king, to whom they were all partially subject. Had the Hapsburg possessed the same power throughout Germany as the Valois and Bourbons over France, the sixteenth century would probably have seen the

destruction of Protestantism throughout their dominions, as it was destroyed in France during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; for the Hapsburgs, from the very dawn of their power, were so completely devoted to Rome, that with few exceptions the popes ruled them as it best suited their policy or passions—"they were men after a pope's own heart."

The destruction of the heretics, or Lutherans (Lutherans, in the eyes of the orthodox, included all the new sects), was the great insoluble riddle for the papacy; and Clement VII. was bitterly exasperated when, in 1529, the emperor, Charles V., with whom he held a conference at Bologna on the question, hesitated, for political reasons, to draw the temporal sword against them, and so secure the full accomplishment of the papal ban.

Paul III. (1534-50) was more fortunate; since he succeeded in fomenting the first religious war in Germany (the so-called Smalkalden war). But so much the more indignant was the next pope, Julian III., when he sent a body of troops numbering 15,000 men, a war subsidy of two hundred thousand ducats, further the permission to sequestrate divers monastic institutions in Spain, and promised various other advantages, on condition his majesty would continue the war; and Charles, instead of doing so, concluded the peace of Passau, by which the Protestants obtained even a certain amount of religious freedom.

A still more unpalatable morsel was subsequently to be swallowed by Pope Paul III. in 1555, when the religious peace of Augsburg was signed, and which for-

mally recognised Protestantism as a religion, and not a mere heresy.

Paul the IV. protested against the peace, and demanded the resolutions passed by the diet of the empire (Reichstag) should be cancelled, since it was "full time to destroy the Lutherans, root and branch." But Charles V. could not meet the wishes of the pope, fearing to provoke a contest which might have cost him his imperial crown; so Paul, despite his indignation, had to behold Protestantism constantly gain fresh ground in Germany, and nearly supplant the orthodox church. But Rome never wearied of watching for its opportunity—and at length that opportunity came. By July, 1609, the legate sent by Pope Paul V. to Germany, had succeeded in inducing nearly all the Catholic princes of the empire to band themselves in a league—the so-called Holy Alliance—against Protestantism. Moreover, Kaiser Matthias, who was completely under the influence of the Jesuits, had determined to prevent the further spread of the reformed doctrines in Bohemia (they already had been adopted by two-thirds of the population), and to this end caused several newly-built Protestant churches to be razed to the ground. Thus was the way prepared for a final blow, and the pope rejoiced beyond measure when certain Protestant nobles at Prague (March 23, 1618), under the leadership of Count Thurn, revenged the insults they had been made to endure, by storming the castle, and throwing the detested ultra-Catholic Imperial councillors, Martinez and Slowata, with Secretary Fabricius, from the windows into the moat.

Then, indeed, the war so long desired could no longer be deferred; that war which was commenced by the Roman Catholics, in the design of annihilating the Protestants, and which was fated to continue during thirty years, but close in a way little gratifying to Rome. At first all went admirably; Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, to whom the pope with singular appropriateness had sent a consecrated dagger, marched into Bohemia, defeated the Protestants at the White Mountain, near Prague, destroyed the religious liberty which had survived until then, re-established the Jesuits in the land, forbade all religious rites, except those of the Roman Catholics, and drove all the members of the reformed churches, numbering 200 nobles, and 30,000 of the industrial classes, into exile; they went principally to Prussia, Holland, Saxony, and Switzerland, refusing the alternative of reconciliation with the dominant faith, whilst he confiscated their property to the amount of forty million florins. A further 20,000 heretics, who would not consent to self exile, he either burnt, or put to the sword. All this was done in the name of Jesus Christ!

A few years later the fortune of the war turned; and most effectually, when Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, crossing the Baltic, landed on the Continent, and defeated the two great Catholic generals, Tilly and Wallenstein; but as we cannot enter on the story of the Thirty Years' War, it may be enough for our purpose to remind the reader, that the five popes who successively filled St. Peter's chair during its continuance —Paul V., Gregory XV., Urban VIII., Innocent X.,

exhibited a like zeal in feeding the war fire, and liberally supported the Catholic party with money and men.

The most grateful offering, the sacrifice of the sweetest savour in their nostrils, was the outpouring of heretic blood, and they spared no effort to excite the Catholic princes, the emperor, Ferdinand II. especially, to ever increasing zeal in the work of destruction. At length, in 1648, an end was put to the struggle; but in the meantime thousands of towns and villages had been reduced to ashes, one half the population of Germany swept away, the other half left utterly beggared; the once smiling, prosperous land changed into a wild waste and wilderness, and the people, from the misery into which thirty years warfare had plunged them, had in great part lost, not only all sense of religion and social morality, but well nigh every better instinct of humanity. The condition of Germany was, indeed, pitiable, but so much the more profound was the universal joy when this lust of murder was at length sated, and the hearts of the princes turned to peace; a consummation finally achieved by the treaties of Osnabrück and Münster, under conditions honourable alike for both the parties to it.

Perhaps in all Europe there was but one man who did not rejoice at this; that one was Pope Innocent X., who, after causing his legate to enter a formal protest against the preliminaries of the peace then under discussion at Osnabrück, next issued a Bull (November 26th, 1648), denouncing the good understanding just secured between Catholics and Protestants as contrary to religion, an infringement of the papal prerogatives,

therefore invalid, vain, and damnable, declaring the treaty was null and void alike, with regard to the past, present and future, and that it behoved no one, though he had taken the most solemn oath upon it, to hold thereto, either in the whole, or in any particular. Thus Innocent X. He cursed what all men blessed; but how much the Bull was really regarded, we see by the fact, that "even in Austria" it was torn by the people from the church doors, where it had been affixed by the legates, and publicly burnt.

From thenceforth Protestantism had a recognised legal right of existence in the empire recorded by the Catholic princes; persecutions for conscience sake ceased, and Christians, whether called Catholics, or Lutherans, or Calvinists, were permitted to worship God throughout the length and breadth of the Father land, according to their individual opinions.

Such was the declaration of the Peace of Westphalia; and its wise provisions would have been observed but for that one man—the pope of Rome. He knew no toleration; could know none, unless he had been false to the very principles of the system he represented. He, the pope, he, the self-styled source and centre of Christianity, could not regard as Christians those who refused to acknowledge in him their supreme head. He, whose predecessors had perfected the famous heretic burning Bull,* "In cœna domini" (so called from the

* This notorious Bull originated undoubtedly with the arrogant Boniface VIII., but was enlarged and perfected by Urban V., Julius II., Paul III., Gregory XIII., and especially by Pius V., and Urban VIII., whilst the two latter ordained it should be read on each Maunday

commencing phrase), could not, if true to the traditions of his office, for an instant neglect any means for securing the destruction of heresy. Therefore, when the wholesale massacre of heretics ceased in Germany, by the refusal of the princes to lend the temporal power for the purpose, still an under current of persecution was maintained against all who dissented from Rome; every possible means, the most infamous, and the most unjust, being employed in the work; for it was still hoped

Thursday from every Catholic pulpit in Christendom. To the pope's sore vexation this regulation was not attended to, so great was the heart-burnings it would probably have excited; but to this day, in the States of the church, and Rome especially, it is still proclaimed on the appointed anniversary, in every church; for its matter is the true presentiment of the thoughts, feelings, and desires of the Roman pontiff. In it, for instance, we read:—(I) That the pope is lord over all Christendom; not only, indeed, over priests and bishops, but over princes, kings, and emperors. (II) The terrible curse pronounced upon every one who offendeth against the pope, or, rather, Roman Catholicism. "Cursed and banned, in the name of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and in that also of the blessed St. Peter and St. Paul, shall be, firstly, all Hussites, Wickliffites, Lutherans, Zwinglians, Calvinists, Huguenots, Anabaptists, Trinitarians, Unitarians, and all and every other heretic; secondly, all those who give any succour or aid to an heretic, afford him shelter, or show him countenance in any way; thirdly, all who buy, read, print, or disseminate, or favour in any way, any religious book published without the sanction of the Apostolic throne; fourthly, all universities, colleges, and cathedral chapters, on their appealing to a Council; fifthly, all who may offer any let or hindrance to the expediting of money or necessaries, &c., &c., to the Papal court, or who sequestrate its revenues; further those also who lay taxes on the clergy, though they be kings or kaisers; those who meddle in ecclesiastical affairs, or affairs under papal jurisdiction; those who offer any resistance to the commands of the pope, his legates or nuncios; finally, all who obey not the representatives of St. Peter, as it would behove them to obey God himself!"

to drive men from their faith by sheer despair, and weariness of the continual strife.

This policy found its most active apostles in Austria, whose rulers were for the most part completely under Jesuit influence. But the most striking example was afforded by the Archbishop Leopold of Salzburg, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, under the instigation of Pope Benedict XII. Although the archbishops domains were enclosed between good Catholic Austria, and the still quite orthodox Bavaria; whilst, moreover, the subjects of an ecclesiastical prince might seem little likely to fall into heresy, yet the evangelical doctrines had penetrated the mountain valleys around Salzburg at a very early period of the Reformation. The then archbishop, Matthäus Lange von Wellenburg, immediately put the strongest measures in force against them, and caused the former Franciscan monk, George Schærer, who had preached the new faith at Rastadt, and Stöckel, a priest in one of the mountain villages, to be beheaded; yet Lutheranism was not the more destroyed, each martyr but brought it new adherents. Within a brief space the Lutheran Bible became the only book of devotion recognised by the mountaineers of Salzburg: and a dozen years later Protestantism had firmly taken root in the archiepiscopal capital.

Under Archbishop Marcus Siticus, count of Hohen-Ems, several Protestant communities in the mountains entreated "His Episcopal Grace's authority to seek a Protestant pastor." Marcus Siticus soon determined on his reply: he sent a dozen Capuchin friars, and a

few hundred soldiers into the mountains, convinced that penitential sermons would be far more likely to prove effective, if supported by the sword. He was not mistaken; all the relapsed presently conformed, at least in outward observances, although, in secret, heterodox gatherings were still held.

During the Thirty Years' War, when Salzburg, strange to say, enjoyed exceptional prosperity, Protestantism gained there much firmer footing. The see was then held by Archbishop Paris, a man as remarkable for his benevolent character and mental acquirements, as for his enlightened statesmanship, and he defended the mountain passes into his domains so well, that during the whole period no foreign soldier ever entered his borders. Whilst the war lasted, he wisely avoided persecuting any of his subjects for matters of opinion, his power depending wholly on their union, by which alone the attacks of the enemy could be successfully repelled.

A great change came with his successor, Maximilian Gandolf, who adopted the system of forced conversion. But even he was soon content to stay his hand, on finding persecution not only failed to strengthen his position, but that he could only continue it to his own serious disadvantage. The reign of the next archbishop, Francis Antony, count of Harrack (1709-1727), passed as quietly; for though the Protestants were subjected to various petty vexations, no open violence was employed against them.

A far other state of things ensued, when Leopold Antony Freiher von Firmian assumed the archiepiscopal dignity, October 3rd, 1727. He was avaricious, and

having had to send one hundred thousand thalers to Rome for the pallium, naturally resolved to make his new subjects make good the outlay. Moreover, his paramour, the Countess Arco, was a source of heavy expense to him, and the offspring of his liaison with her had also to be provided for. He was not less greedy of power than of money, and had determined to secure a cardinal's hat, and further, to bring the episcopal see of Passau under his authority; Passau had contrived to separate itself from Salzburg some twenty years before. As both desires could only be realised through the favour of the pope, he, with his prime counsellor and favourite, Hieronymus Christian von Räll, concocted a plan to this end of really devilish ingenuity. The two resolved either forcibly to restore all the schismatics in Salzburg to the church, or utterly destroy them from the face of the land, and thus prove to the reigning pope, Benedict XIII., that the interests of the apostolic throne were far more precious than any others in the archiepiscopal eyes. The treaty of Westphalia, it is true, forbade the summary incremation of heretics; still they might be harassed and tortured, until driven into rebellion, and then in all legality put to death, banished, and spoliated. It was, in truth, a magnificent scheme, and well worth the sixty thousand florins with which Räll was rewarded for it from the papal treasury.

Of course measures were immediately taken to carry out the proposal; forthwith a multitude of Jesuits spread themselves over the land, to warn the relapsed to repentance; but, above all things, to search for forbidden books—especially translations of the Bible and New Tes-

tament. Whoever possessed such a work, and denied the fact, was treated as a criminal; either thrown into prison, and left, perhaps for months, without trial, or summarily sent over the frontier, under penalty of death in event of his return. The mayor of Werfen, Roman von Wetzel, exhibited so much zeal in the service, that he at once cast twelve respectable burghers into prison, and employed such treatment towards them, that they soon promised to tell their beads devoutly for the future, and pay him a handsome ransom. The breach of the law was flagrant; but not only did Roman von Wetzel pass unrebuked, but was greatly lauded for his zeal by his spiritual master. His proceedings becoming known, his colleagues, in many places, eagerly emulated, or even surpassed them. Soon the prisons were all filled; but no prisoner was released until he had forsworn his heresy.

Imprisonment was not the only evil to which the Protestants were subjected; there were many far more ingenious methods of persecution. None of the customary rites of sepulture, no tolling bell or funeral hymn, were allowed to the professors of the reformed faith. Their dead were buried by the roadside, or in the forest. The Catholic priesthood found their way into every household, baptising every infant according to the Romanist forms, made women tremble at their terrible pictures of eternal damnation, and cursed the whole family to the lowest depth of hell, unless they renounced Protestantism. Catholics were forbidden to hold any intercourse with heretics, that the latter might be as completely isolated as possible; and, in short, no means

by which the daily life of the victims might be embittered were left untried. They were even deprived of all rights of citizenship; for no one suspected of heresy could act as sponsor, or appear as a witness in a court of justice.

The Protestants, in their sore extremity, began to hold secret meetings for studying the Word of God, or to take counsel how best relief might be obtained from this merciless oppression. Scarcely had Chancellor Räll gained intelligence of these meetings, than he at once treated them as treasonable, and sent messengers to the emperor at Vienna, to entreat his majesty to send troops against the rebels. But the Protestants, on their side, had despatched delegates to Vienna and to Ratisbon (where the representatives of the "Evangelical Stände" held their sittings), to protest against this breach of the Westphalian Peace.

Certain of the delegates succeeded in reaching Ratisbon, though the passes were strictly guarded; so strictly, indeed, that the majority of the adventurers were seized, and suffered as rebels. The Evangelical Council took up the cause of the oppressed, addressed a remonstrance to the archbishop, and further, entreated the emperor to take their case into consideration. But to what result? The archbishop replied, his Protestant vassals were in open insurrection, and doubled the severity of the measures against them; the Aufruhacte (declaration of rebellion) was proclaimed, and every meeting of more than four persons denounced as rebellious. Thus were secured the means of a systematic persecution, according to whatever procedure might seem best. As not one

of the heretics was to be allowed to escape, it was of the utmost importance to have an exact list of all persons attached to the new faith. Thereupon Chancellor Räll published an announcement that the government wished to be informed of all grievances its Protestant subjects might have to prefer, in order to the future legal regulation of their political position, and he proceeded in Midsummer, 1731, from parish to parish, to hear the complaints, and register the name and fortune of each of the Protestant inhabitants. Delighted that all trouble for the future was over, and the better to mask his designs, the chancellor then gave the people permission to practice the evangelical faith within their houses. They fell into the trap, hastened to inscribe their names on the heretic roll, and it was thus ascertained that the dominions of the archbishop held no fewer than 20,678 Protestants, among whom 850 families were of the wealthier order. Scarcely had this preliminary business been effected, when Räll threw off all disguise, and the persecutions recommenced *with* their former virulence. Even greater barbarity was employed than of old; and as a foretaste of all that was to follow, the Protestant Bible was publicly burnt in the market place of Salzburg. Immediately succeeding this, in September, 1730, 6000 imperial troops entered the archiepiscopal territories, professedly to suppress the secret gatherings of the insurgents, but, in reality, to put down heresy by force. The soldiers were naturally quartered only upon the Protestant inhabitants, who stood already self-denounced, and thenceforth commenced a system of spo-

liation, the iniquities of which can with difficulty be fully conceived.

The troops acted as though in an enemy's country, gave themselves up to license and reckless plunder. The Protestants were stripped of their possessions, and when no longer able to pay the taxes imposed on them, they were driven from their homes as beggars. Whoso dared let fall an impatient word, or glance, was at once seized, chained to some other offender, and thrown into prison; those who succeeded in making their escape to the forests, were hunted down like wild beasts, and put to death with as little compunction.

Women were exposed to nameless outrages, or murdered, if they offered resistance. It is, indeed, impossible to enter on the details of this death contest of Catholicism against Protestantism, and it would have been no marvel if the latter had taken up arms to avenge its wrongs. But this was not to be; another end was approaching.

On St. Laurence's day, more than a hundred venerable men, the representatives of the various Protestant communities of Salzburg met in a lonely gorge, in the Dientner Thal, and took counsel where aid might best be sought in the common tribulation. No hope seemed to offer but from exile, and it was then determined their people should seek another home, no matter under what sky, so only they dared freely worship their God beneath it.

Several of the more courageous volunteered to scale the highest passes, and invoke help from the Pro-

testant princes of Germany. Two only of those who went forth evaded their enemies, the rest were seized, and shot; but those two at once addressed themselves to all the more powerful Protestant powers—England, Sweden, Prussia, entreating the good offices of the respective governments, in intervention for their unhappy countrymen. Frederick William was then king of Prussia, and he at once perceived the advantages he should gain by the addition of these Salzburgers to the population of his sparsely peopled land. He at once made the most energetic representations to the archbishop, to obtain his sanction for the proposed emigration; further declaring, that if his grace made any difficulty in the matter, he (the king) would retaliate on the Catholic subjects of Prussia all that the Protestants of Salzburg suffered.

The ecclesiastical potentate was fain to yield; but in what wise? He immediately made emigration compulsory; driving away, by help of the imperial dragoons, all those who wished to quit the land, leaving them no time either to prepare for so long a journey, or sell the property still spared them. In the midst of the Alpine winter they were obliged to commence their wanderings, and those who showed any disinclination to exile, were driven forth at the point of the bayonet. Catholics were told it was needless to purchase heretic property, for in a few days it would be their own without payment. Those Protestants who had contrived to obtain a little money for the journey were deprived of it, under the plea of an emigration tax, and so well were these regulations carried out, that none were suffered to cross

the frontier until completely beggared. Nor was this the worst; the moral vexations were far more cruel than these physical penalties. In the city of Salzburg, where alone the prescribed passports were obtainable, applicants were kept waiting for long weeks, when their children, in numberless instances, were taken from them, under pretence they had expressed a desire for reconciliation with Rome; and every contrivance, some, indeed, of the most infamous character employed, to detach the parents from their faith. But it was all to no effect: the greater the suffering, the greater the oppression, the higher rose the zeal of the victims, not one of whom consented to remain behind.

Within a short period 18,000 persons bade farewell to home and country, and in many districts, so complete was the desolation left behind, the beholder might have imagined a terrible pestilence had passed over and depopulated the land. But the lord archbishop cared little for such secondary matters—"I will not have a single heretic in my dominions," he declared, "though thorns and thistles should cover the fields." The pope munificently rewarded him for such good Catholic sentiments, for Clement XII. accorded the title of "Excelsus" to his champion.

Later, the new "Highness" discovered, to his horror, that the more heterodoxy decreased, the less became the returns to the archiepiscopal treasury, and to retain the remnant of Protestantism still left, called on all his subjects to subscribe to the following *oath*:—"I swear to the living God, and all the saints, that I not only acknowledge my devotion to the sole-saving (alleinselig

machenden) Roman Catholic faith, with my heart and lips, but I will duly believe that all those who have wandered forth from the land, or who may in future do so, travel devil-ward." This clumsy scheme to keep the people at home had the very contrary effect; for suddenly from the vast salt-mines around the capital the miners issued forth, and proclaimed themselves Protestants; the archbishop might grind his teeth for rage, in seeing his splendid salt mines, the chief source of his revenue, suddenly left workmanless; but the miners all left, and were followed into exile by about 2000 other persons, and then the emigration ceased. In all, not less than 22,000 abandoned the country. The stillness of death rested where the busy hum of human life and industry had once filled the air, and whole generations passed away before the blank thus left was even partially filled.

The archbishop, however, could now proudly declare that no man or woman was left in the land who did not devoutly tell their beads, and as devoutly seek the intercession of the blessed saints. From thenceforth, however, there were no more "wholesale" heretic persecutions in Germany; for the various governments had at length learnt they did more political harm than religious good, and the pope, for the future, had to content himself with renouncing all thought of new crusades, at least, as far as Germany was concerned.

11.—The Extirpation of Heresy in France.

In France, as in Germany, the doctrines of the reformers had spread far and wide, despite the orthodox zeal of Francis I., and his son, Henry II., by whom many heretics in Paris, Toulouse, and Aix, were burnt at the stake. But the resignation and cheerfulness with which the victims met their doom, seemed an evidence of the truth of their creed, and multiplied, instead of diminished, the number of their fellow believers. This result was further aided by the fact, that the chief apostle of French Protestantism, Jean Chauvin (Calvin), of Royou, in Picardy, was by birth, speech, and habits, a Frenchman; whilst he found in the gifted Margaret of Navarre, the sister of Francis I., an all-powerful protectress.

Thus the new religion spread with marvellous rapidity among all classes and conditions of men; many of the highest education and intelligence, citizens distinguished by their wealth, nobles of the most ancient families, even several princes of the blood royal, became secretly attached to the new faith. They rarely, however, ventured to acknowledge it publicly; to do so, was to provoke immediate imprisonment, followed by execution.

A very different era in the history of Protestantism commenced on the death of Henry II., and the advent of Francis II. to the French throne. The new king, then but seventeen years of age, and alike feeble in mind and body, was quite incapable of grasping the reins of government, and a regency became necessary. But to whom should the regency be adjudged? To

Catherine de Medici as queen-mother, to the dukes of Bourbon, as the nearest of kin to the Valois house, or to the duke de Guise, the most important of the great nobles?

The Guises were descended from the ancient family of the dukes of Lorraine; during the reign of King Francis I., the younger brother of the duke of Lorraine secured the comté of Guise, in Picardy, by marriage, and it was shortly elevated into a dukedom in his favour. In 1559, the house of Guise was represented by Duke François (son of Claudius), a man of dauntless courage, great intellect, and boundless ambition. He had five brothers, the famous cardinal Charles of Lorraine one of them; they had all been loaded with favours and offices by the late king, and had constantly employed their influence to place their own partisans in nearly every office of state. But as a means of consolidating their power, they resolved to take their stand as the champions of Catholicism, and the uncompromising opponents of the new faith. The "Bourbons" were descended from Robert, the second son of Louis IX., who had acquired by marriage the comté of Bourbon, which was immediately afterwards created a duchy by the king. They stood nearest to the throne, and if Francis II., and his three brothers died without issue, the succession would lapse to the head of the "Bourbon" house, then represented by Antoine de Bourbon, duke de Vendôme, and by marriage with Jeanne d'Albret, titular king of Navarre, and lord of the principality of Bearn. Antoine had two brothers, the cardinal de

Bourbon, a good humoured, common place personage, and Louis, prince of Condé, one of the first generals of his age; several cousins, moreover, among whom we need only mention the duc de Montpensier, and the prince de la Roche sur Yon.

"Catherine de Medicis," queen dowager, was, as her name indicates, a scion of the ducal house of Tuscany, and as remarkable for her beauty as for her mental powers: but still more, perhaps, for the unflinching resolution with which she followed out her schemes. As a near kinswoman of Pope Pius IV., it was, perhaps, natural the interests of Catholicism should lay near her heart; but still nearer lay her love of power, and she had therefore determined to secure the regency, no matter at what cost. It was, however, only possible to do this by identifying herself with one or other of the great parties, for thus only could she secure the material preponderance necessary to maintain her position. But which of the two was it wiser for her to adopt? that of the duke of Guise, or that of the king of Navarre? The choice for a pope's niece was not difficult, especially as the Guise, inspired as they were by the same sentiments as her own, met her half way. The alliance with them was soon effected, and the supreme power shared between Catherine, Duke François, and their respective partisans. The next step was to send the Bourbons from the court, and deprive them of nearly all political influence; the head of the house, King Antoine, being banished to his Bearnais possessions, the prince de Condé despatched on a diplomatic mission

to Madrid, and the connétable, Anne de Montmorency, deprived of the command of the army in the most complimentary manner practicable.

It may well be supposed the Bourbons of those days were little disposed to submit to such contumelious treatment, and they at once set themselves earnestly to the task of dispossessing the Guises of the power they had so monopolised. The fiery Condé was especially indignant, and at once appointed a private conference with his most trusted partisans, at his chateau de Laferte, on the borders of Champagne, to determine the course it behoved them to adopt in this emergency. Among the friends who answered the appeal were Gaspar de Coligny, of the house of Chatillon, grand admiral of France, a man alike distinguished for courage, steadfastness, and military experience, and Coligny's brother, Dandolot, one of the most daring and resolute soldiers France has given birth to. Both were generally considered to be in favour of the reformed doctrines, and thus when the majority of the council appeared ready to adopt the desperate resolve of immediately attacking the despotism of the reigning faction, sword in hand, Coligny opposed the idea, feeling the far superior numbers of the enemy would inevitably ensure defeat, and warmly advocated an alliance with the oppressed and persecuted, but very numerous adherents of the reformed church; for thus not only a strong party in France could be consolidated for their cause, but the sympathy of a great part of the people of England and Germany secured to it.

The suggestion met with general approval. It was

unanimously resolved to overthrow the Guise by help of the Protestants, and the admiral, and his brother Dandolot, and the vidame of Chartres, of the Bourbon-Vendôme house, were commissioned to win over the chiefs of the reformed party, under promise, of course, that Calvinism thenceforth receive the same legal recognition as Catholicism. Thus, the alliance of Catherine with the Guise, called into existence the opposing alliance of the Bourbons with the Protestants, who, until then, had been of no political weight in the state. But this very alliance threatened at its commencement to bring about the complete ruin of Protestantism. La Renaudie, a Protestant noble, far more brave than prudent, bitterly exasperated, too, at the indignities to which his brethren in the faith had been so long subjected, joined himself to a considerable number of malcontents in the city of Blois, with the intent of seizing the Guises, and the whole court assembled there. Confiding in the support of the Bourbon princes, now the declared champions of the Protestant cause, he proposed the young king should be compelled to appoint the Prince de Condé, the defender of Calvinism, sole regent. The plot was, however, betrayed; the Guises carried off the king to the strong castle of Amboise, which they fortified as well as was practicable, and gathered within it all their disposable forces. But as La Renaudie followed fast on their traces, there was some danger he might take the castle by storm. Therefore Duke François had recourse to treachery, and despatched the duke de Nemours to the chiefs of the malcontent Protestants, with the promise that their requisitions, if respectfully sub-

mitted to the king, should be immediately satisfied. La Renaudie believed these promises, and sent fifteen of his bravest companions to arrange the terms of the settlement at Amboise; but scarcely had they entered the castle, when they were seized as rebels, and immediately shot.

La Renaudie, exasperated at the treachery, put his troops to a forced march; but the Guises had found time, whilst the negociations were pending, to collect additional troops, and the Calvinists, overpowered by the superior numbers of the enemy, either died on the field of battle, or were taken prisoners. Short work was made with the captives. The following day they were all decapitated, hanged, or drowned; whilst the king, his brothers, the queen mother, and the ladies of the court, watched the execution as it had been some gay court festivity.

So closed the so-called Amboise Plot (March 18th, 1560), closed with the destruction of all who had taken part in it. But the Guise were not yet satisfied; for, convinced that the Calvinists or Huguenots (the adherents of the reformed church received the latter title of opprobrium after this fatal conspiracy *) were their

* The word "Huguenot" had a peculiar origin. In the city of Tours, the belief was current that every night the phantom of the long dead King Hugo rode through the streets, passing out at the "Hugo-gate." And as the Calvinists there at first only ventured to hold their meetings in great privacy, and under cover of darkness generally, using a certain house near the Hugo-gate for the purpose, they thus acquired the designation of Huguenots. As by chance the first clue to the Amboise Plot was discovered in the same city, and the name of opprobrium, originally a merely local one, was shortly employed to designate all the Calvinists throughout France.

most dangerous enemies, they determined on their complete extirpation, and to that end despatched orders into every province of France for the immediate suppression of Protestantism. This command was not in every instance obeyed; but it was so in the greater number, especially throughout Dauphiné, then administered by the duke of Guise, and Provence, where Tavanne, General-lieutenant of the kingdom, held the chief authority. In both the royal will was carried out with a barbarity rarely equalled.

The Guises not only made persons of the lower classes the object of their persecution, they boldly attacked those of high social position. The prince of Condé was seized, and summarily condemned to death by the servile parliament of Paris, November 26th, and they persecuted the king for the immediate fulfilment of the sentence. But Francis II. had fallen sick on the day of the trial, and died within ten days, on the 5th of December, 1590, leaving the death warrant unsigned. The throne devolved to his brother, Charles IX., then but ten years of age, and once more a regency was necessary. Catherine, as mother of the youthful sovereign, had the strongest claim to the dignity; but she feared the pretensions of the duke of Guise, whose all-engrossing power had been very irksome to her during the latter years of the life of Francis. She, therefore, in all haste sought an alliance with the king of Navarre, and promised that if he would support her with his party, she would immediately liberate the prince of Condé, suspend all Huguenot executions, and finally summon a parliament of the kingdom, by which the position of

the Protestants might be legally settled. The king of Navarre accepted the proposal, and Catherine became by his aid ruler of France, and guardian of her son, the king.

By this sudden revolution in the government, the Protestants found their political status completely changed, and in place of the persecution to which they had been a short time since constantly liable, they were now suffered to enjoy an interval of complete toleration. On the 17th of January, 1562, the queen regent published an edict, granting them full liberty to practice their religion in every city of the kingdom. But this toleration was of short continuance: Pope Pius IV. was so exasperated by it, he determined to inaugurate a method of heretic extirpation, of a kind never before adopted. His project was to unite in a league all the Catholic potentates of Europe—the emperor of Germany, the king of France, the duke of Savoy, and the various Italian princes, that by their combined action all that was called Protestant might be effectually crushed. The project was a grand one, and the Guises at once gave their adhesion to it, even uniting in its interest with the cardinal de Medici, their declared enemy, but a thorough Romanist. The pope despatched Cardinal Ferrara, and Lainez, the General of the Society of Jesus, into France, attended by a whole army of mendicant friars, to prepare the people, but, still more, the great nobles and barons of the kingdom, for the approaching struggle. From village to village the monks wended their way, calling on all men to gird on their swords against the heretics. The Jesuits were still more effec-

tively employed; they succeeded in exciting discord in the Bourbon camp, and by fair promises even seduced the Cardinal de Bourbon, and the king of Navarre, to their side.* Still the prospects of the Huguenots had much of hope in them, their doctrines gained daily new proselytes among the lower nobility, and more respectable of the citizens; so that soon there were two thousand communities formed of the new faith, and in Normandy scarcely a town or village could be found in which it did not include the majority of the inhabitants; whilst its triumphs were scarcely less in Guienne, Languedoc, Cevennes, the principality of Orange, in Champagne, in Dauphiné, &c., &c. Indeed, never had Protestantism numbered so many adherents in France as at this epoch, and a war between the two religious factions would inevitably be as protracted as it must be sanguinary in its character.

The duke of Guise gave the signal for hostilities. Proceeding to Paris with his brother, the cardinal de Lorraine, he halted at Vassi, a small town in Champagne. It was Sunday, and the inhabitants attached to the reformed doctrines were celebrating their religious rites in a barn, without the walls. Observing this, the Guise cavalry surrounded the building, mocking and

* The pope even promising the titular king of Navarre that he would induce the king of Spain, who was actually in possession of Navarre, to renounce it in favour of the Bourbon prince, on condition the latter joined the league. Whilst, if the king of Spain refused this arrangement, the Holy Father engaged to make over the island of Sardinia in compensation. Promises of the like character were made to the other chief Protestant leaders; but the latter were not caught by the bait, and rejected the infamous offers with contempt.

insulting the worshippers with every form of contumely, and when answered in kind, had immediate recourse to their weapons, rode into the barn, striking and trampling down men, women, and children; all, indeed, within their reach. More than sixty unarmed Huguenots were murdered on the spot, and several hundred severely wounded; so that the title of the Vassi Massacre, given to the day's achievement, was but too well merited. Though the whole town rose to drive away the murderers, the duke succeeded in drawing off his troops without the loss of one man. He might, however, feel convinced a Huguenot rebellion would now be inevitable, and after gathering a few thousand more of his partisans under his standard, hastened on to Paris to secure the capital for the League. He had no difficulty in achieving this, for the majority of the population were devoted Catholics, and welcomed him with every mark of enthusiasm.

He immediately sent the boy king, and the whole court to Melun, for greater security, armed all the Parisians upon whom he could depend, caused the Huguenot places of worship in the faubourgs to be burnt down, authorised the people to plunder and slay all heretics, and finally announcing to the pope, and the king of Spain, this first victory, called on them for their promised aid.

The war—it was called the First Huguenot War—was begun in earnest; for the prince de Condé, who assumed the leadership of the Huguenot party since the defection of his brother, King Antoine, now united with its chief adherents, to repel force with force, and

fittingly respond to the Catholic challenge. From the city of Orleans, which he had taken with the help of the Protestants, on the 2nd of April, he now issued a manifesto to all the reformed Churches in France, calling on them to send forth their veteran soldiers to Orleans without delay, and wrote to the queen of England, and the Protestant princes of Germany, especially the Elector Palatine, to entreat their support. Condé's manifesto did not fail in its purpose. Not only a considerable reinforcement of soldiers was shortly collected in Orleans, but the Huguenots made themselves masters of Lyons, Rouen, La Rochelle, Grenoble, Nîmes, &c., upwards of fifty cities in all, where they had outnumbered the Catholics, though naturally these triumphs were not won without some bloodshed. The Guises, and their partisans, followed much the same tactics, called on all the nobles of France, in an address published April 21st, to join them in arms to put down the "bad Christians," and forced the youthful king, who was completely under their influence, to issue an edict, declaring that the royal will could recognise but one religion in France. They naturally secured every city in which the Protestants were in the minority; but subsequently acted in a way very different to their antagonists, for their policy was not to "overpower" merely, but to "annihilate" all who offered resistance.

Then followed an internecine warfare, whose horrors might well defy our credence. Rapine, murder, wholesale devastation, the faggot and the axe, were the means by which the Catholics trusted to ensure their triumph. The papal Governor of Avignon set the example, when

leader, and the wound proved so severe that in a few days he expired. The loss appeared so irreparable to Catherine de Medicis, that she immediately determined to make terms with the Protestants.

On the 7th of March the first negociations to this end were set on foot, and by the 12th a treaty was concluded. Those of the reformed faith were guaranteed complete liberty of conscience, received full authorisation to erect their houses of worship in the suburbs of the larger towns, though not permitted to practice the rites in Paris. It was not so much religious freedom as tolerance rather, now granted them, and there could be no question of religious equality with the Catholics; yet the Catholic prelates, especially the pope at Rome, were enraged beyond measure at the indulgence shown to these pestilent heretics. The civil war, though it had lasted but a year, had brought France to the verge of ruin; towns and villages without number were desolated; thousands of the peaceful inhabitants, now beggared and homeless, wandered about the country, dependent on public charity; robbery, extortion, wild rapine, adultery, murder, had usurped the place of justice and social order; whilst of religion, or even its outward indications, scarce any vestige was left; in short, nothing but a prolonged peace seemed capable of restoring prosperity to the country; but the pope concerned himself little in such matters, and grew wrath at the very name of peace. His unceasing endeavour became to find some means to procure the renewal of the strife, and to this end excommunicated Queen Johanna of Navarre, for refusing to bring up her son

Henry as a Catholic, and directed the grand inquisitor, Espinosa, to seize the queen and the prince, either by force or fraud, and transfer them to the dungeons of the Inquisition at Seville.

Such a command was in violation of all public law; but it would not the less have been fulfilled, if the prudent queen had not known how to secure her safety, and outwit the cunning of the chief of the Holy Office. The astute Cardinal Antinori, who had been sent on a secret mission to France, contrived an interview about this time between the queen mother and the queen of Spain, at which the duke of Alva, the duke of Savoy, and the cardinals of Lorraine, Armagnac, Strozi, and Montluc were present. Antinori was the directing spirit at the "secret congress," held under cloak of gay court festivities, at the chateau de Roussillon. Two points were determined on at it: firstly, that all the Catholics of France, Spain, and Italy, should unite in a "holy league" or brotherhood, for the "honour of God, and the defence of the Catholic church and the papacy;" and, secondly, the complete suppression of the Reformation in France, securing, above all things, the chief Protestant leaders,* and in one or another way expedite their departure for the next world; that, in fact, "a general massacre of heretics was the only means by which a lasting religious peace could be restored to France." Not until this, and some other questions of moment had been debated and

* The duke of Alba declared:—"It were needless to take the profitless trouble of catching frogs, but rather earnestly set oneself to securing the salmon, and other large fish, since 10,000 frogs were not worth so much as one salmon."

settled, did the two queens bid each other adieu; whilst those who looked not below the surface, imagined they had met but to indulge in courtly diversions and gay banquets.

The whole truth was not known until many years later; but the Protestants would appear to have felt some misgivings; for when the queen regent directed the enlistment of 6,000 Switzers, and certain intercepted letters indicated a new blow in preparation by the Catholics, Condé and Coligny called their bravest partisans to a secret council of war, August, 1567, when it was determined under no circumstances to idly wait until with hands and feet bound, they should be dragged to the Paris scaffolds. The Huguenot general knew full well that if the enemy, who already possessed the advantage of greatly superior numbers, besides holding nearly all the fortified places in France, were allowed an opportunity of striking the first blow, their own ruin would be inevitable. It was, therefore resolved, that on the following 29th September, 1567, all the Protestants in France should simultaneously draw the sword, and thus anticipate the designs of their opponents.

A vast conspiracy was formed, and they succeeded not only in keeping the secret until the appointed day, but surprised and secured no less than fifty fortified places, besides the cities of Orléans, Alby, Nîmes, Montpellier, &c. They almost obtained a still greater triumph in securing the person of the king, who was then residing in the town of Manx. He must have fallen into their hands but for the Swiss troops, who

had but just arrived, and immediately hastened to the rescue of the court. The queen mother and her son contrived to reach Paris in safety, and immediately summoned all good Catholics to arms. She, moreover, despatched messengers to Rome and Madrid, entreating auxiliaries; and eight companies of mounted men-at-arms, from the Spanish Netherlands, and three regiments of infantry, under the duke of Aremberg, shortly arrived; whilst the papal Gonfaloniere, Ludovico Gonzaga, was fast approaching, at the head of 14,000 additional troops, Swiss and Italian, whom he had collected with the ecclesiastical funds.

The Huguenots were quite unable to resist such overwhelming numbers, and Condé, after performing prodigies of valour at the battle of St. Denis, where Montluc died, retreated into Champagne, to unite his forces with those of John Casimir, the Elector palatine, who brought him 6,000 cavalry, and 3,000 free lances, from Germany. The Huguenot affairs again seemed to promise well; the more so, since the Italian auxiliaries in the army of the league set all military discipline completely at defiance. Under these circumstances, and to avoid almost inevitable discomfiture, the queen mother proposed an amicable arrangement, which was finally settled the 23rd of May, 1568, its provisions being founded on much the same basis as the peace of 1563. Condé's army was almost immediately disbanded, and his German auxiliaries returned home.

France enjoyed peace once more; but what manner of peace was it? Jesuits, and begging monks swarmed over the land, and publicly taught; no one was bound

to keep his word with a heretic, whilst it behoved every good Christian to take up arms, and smite the Huguenots unto death. Thus incited, the Catholics in many places formed themselves into bands of pious assassins, and during April, May, and June, killed no less than 10,000 of the detested schismatics. The Protestants complained; but neither the government, nor the law, nor the queen mother, gave any aid against the wrong. Indeed, the purpose aimed at by Catherine, might have been foreseen with little difficulty, when Pope Pius V., in May, 1568, authorised her to sell church property to the amount of three million livres, on condition of applying the net proceeds for the extirpation of the reformed doctrines.

The queen, in an edict issued in September of the same year, commanded the Huguenots to relinquish all dignities and offices of public trust which they might hold, within fourteen days, under penalty of death, and confiscation of their property; at the same time forbidding the practice of any religion but the Roman Catholic, throughout France.

Then followed the third Huguenot war, to which Pope Pius again furnished a contingent, under the command of the count de Santa Fiore, his natural son. The Huguenots obtained aid in money from England, and soldiers from Germany. For two years fortune was undetermined which side to favour; at length the queen saw the hopelessness of conquering the Huguenots in the open field, and concluded a third peace, that of St. Germains, on the 8th of August, 1571, by which they were accorded much wider privileges than any they had

yet been promised. Not only was complete religious liberty granted them, with authorisation to fulfil all public charges, but they received as a pledge of the sincerity of these favours, the keys of the cities of Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité.

This peace, at least, seemed likely to be a lasting one, and its fair promise was attributed to the fact that Charles IX. had now attained his majority, and necessarily exercised a far greater influence on the government than before. But the young monarch had grown up under maternal influence, completely demoralised, with not one feeling of honour or compunction; and so consummate a hypocrite, that he not only deceived all about him, but, in nearly every instance, Catherine de Medici herself. During the peace negociations, he not only studiously assumed the most marked friendliness towards the Huguenots' plenipotentiaries, but assured the brave Teligny, Coligny's son in law, and La Noue, bras-de-fer,* in confidence, he believed it would be for the general welfare and religious peace of France, since a foreign war was the best preventive of civil strife, to assist the Protestants of the Netherlands against the king of Spain, and further effect the marriage of his own sister Margaret, with Henry, the young king of Navarre. The Hugnenot chiefs implicitly believed in his sincerity. Admiral Coligny, in compliance with the king's desire, consented to present himself at court; and Charles, at the head of his ministers and favourites, with the queen mother and her train, went forth from

* La Noue had replaced an arm lost in battle by an iron one; thence his sobriquet.

Blois to meet the brave old admiral, with every observance of the most affectionate respect. Charles even assured his guest, with tears in his eyes, he had never known "so happy a moment," and felt, "that thenceforth all the troubles which had distracted his kingdom would cease. "The king had become a true friend to the Protestants, had laid aside all Romanist intolerance." Might not all men have so hoped; the more so, since he seemed so anxiously bent on concluding the royal alliance, which was to be the pledge of complete reconciliation; and was not Coligny appointed to the command of the future army against Spain?

Not long after this, at the commencement of the year 1572, the pope despatched his nephew,—or son, Cardinal d'Alessandria, to the French court, charged with inducing Valois to give his sister in marriage to the king of Portugal, instead of to the heretic king of Navarre. Such, at least, was the ostensible object of the cardinal's journey; but it was, in truth, assumed, but the more completely to blind the Protestants to the actual designs of Charles IX. The cardinal had, in fact, come to remind the prince of the plan long since determined on at the chateau of Rousillon, and that it was full time for its realisation. The king promised in private its fulfilment; and then, at a public audience before the whole court, emphatically rejected the proposal made by the legate respecting the princess, declaring that he more respected the queen of Navarre, who was then at court with her son, Henry, the princes of Condé, the count of Nassau, and a numerous retinue, than even the pope; and that if the latter, on the plea

of too near consanguinity, "should refuse a dispensation for the union of Prince Henry and Princess Margaret, he (the king) would, none the less, lead her with his own hand to the betrothal."

Thus the Valois duped the whole world to his real feelings, and effectually banished any trace of misgiving from Admiral Coligny's bosom. In vain certain of his brethren in the faith reminded him of La Rochelle, and the undying enmity of the Catholic to the Protestant, of Queen Catherine's oath, to destroy all heretics, of the king's personal character, moulded from his youth upwards on the doctrines of Machiavelli; finally, of the papal edict, by which men were forbidden to keep faith with the heretic: but the admiral persistently maintained "there were no longer any grounds for suspicion and disbelief, for God had clearly turned the heart of the king." These opinions, held by Coligny, was gradually adopted by the majority of the Huguenot leaders, and Charles sought to give it greater weight, by making an apparent reconciliation between Henry, the young duke of Guise, son of the murdered duke, and Coligny, —although the Guises regarded the lattter as morally responsible for the deed. Then, when the marriage of the Princess Margaret with the king of Navarre, August 18th (the ceremony had been deferred from July 10th, when it should have taken place), on account of the death of the Queen Johanna, was finally celebrated, it would have seemed mere madness to longer doubt the honourable intentions of the French sovereign.

So stood affairs at Paris, when a premature occurrence almost betrayed and brought to nought all the

plans Charles IX. had so carefully nursed to the eve of fruition. Admiral Coligny, returning to his own residence from an interview with the king at the Louvre, was fired upon from the window of a house, by which he was slowly riding. The shot carried away the forefinger of his right hand, and severely wounded him in the left arm. His followers immediately forced their way into the house in search of the assassin, who had, however, already made good his escape. A horse, saddled and bridled, had been held in readiness for the purpose at a back door. No doubt could be entertained but that the assassin was a certain Nicholas de Maurevert, one of the most trusted servants of the Duke of Guise, who had, indeed, already murdered one of the admiral's intimate friends. The house whence the shot issued belonged to the Prebendary Villemuire, formerly tutor to the Duke of Guise; moreover, it was usually occupied by the servants of the duke when the latter visited Paris. Thus every circumstance seemed to indicate that the contriver of the attack belonged to the Guise faction, and the Huguenots spoke openly this belief, and with the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé at their head, declared their intention to leave Paris when their lives were imperilled. What course shall we find Charles adopting in this dilemma? He immediately summoned Henry of Navarre (now his brother-in-law), the Prince de Condé, and the other chiefs of the Huguenot party; expressed his grief and indignation in the most emphatic terms at the attempt against Coligny, and solemnly swore contriver, instrument, and accomplices, should expiate the crime on the

gibbet. To give greater weight to his vows, he caused horsemen to be despatched in every direction in pursuit of the murderer; a special commission appointed to thoroughly sift the affair, and even signed an order for the arrest of the Duke of Guise, so that the latter was compelled, for the time (the necessity lasted but twenty-four hours), to seek concealment. Nor was the king content with even these measures; he visited the wounded admiral on the following morning, accompanied by the queen mother, his two brothers, and a crowd of courtiers and court ladies; showed, apparently, the tenderest sympathy with the sufferer, and swore the most terrible oaths such dire vengeance should be exacted for the wrong; it would remain for ever an example to the world.

Queen Catherine spoke to the same effect; and Coligny, Teligny, the King of Navarre, and the greater number of the Protestant leaders, were effectually thrown off their guard. They remained with their followers in Paris; but the Vidâm de Chartres, in his bold fashion, advised the immediate declaration of hostilities against the Catholics, or, at the least, immediate departure from Paris, previous to a rendezvous at La Rochelle. His counsels, however, found little encouragement; and he left the capital almost alone, for no persuasions could induce him to remain.

The king clearly saw the impression produced by Maurevert's premature act could not be quite effaced,—the Protestant population of the city and faubourgs having been, in some degree, awakened from their dream of security. He therefore determined that the work to

be done should be done without further delay; the promise he had made the pope fulfilled, and the long-contemplated Protestant massacre made an accomplished fact. Scarcely had Charles returned to the Louvre from this visit to Coligny, than he had a long confidential conversation with the queen mother; and the chief nobles of the Catholic party were summoned to a conference, to be held that evening in the gardens of the Tuilleries, to determine on the fittest method of carrying out the royal views. A dread tribunal assembled that night at nine o'clock! There were present, besides the king and queen mother, the Duke d'Anjou, the Duke de Nevers, the Count d'Angoulême Grand-prior, the Chancellor Birago, the Maréchal Tavannes, and Count Gondi-Retz.

The king explained his design; and it was unanimously agreed to give it unconditional support,—thus the annihilation of all the Protestants in France was succinctly determined on. The following night was to be the epoch of their destruction in Paris; and special messengers were sent to the various provincial governors throughout the land, to command their immediately following the example given by the capital.

The pope and the king had fully settled the affair between them,—the latter swearing by "God's teeth," his favourite oath, "not one of the reformed faith should survive to reproach him with the deed, except two only,—the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé" (they were to be spared on account of their close relationship to the royal house),—but with the condition of reconciliation with Rome. Scarcely had

the general course of action been determined on, than the confederates separated to make the preliminary arrangements, and with a rapidity, quiet secrecy and energy, that may well excite our wonder. Firstly, the Duke of Guise, who, for the last two days, had pretended to be in hiding, was called to the palace and charged with the chief conduct of the whole scheme of slaughter, especially with the murder of Coligny, with which it was to be inaugurated. The duke assembled the chief officers of the Swiss Guard, and those commanding the royal troops, and informed them of the king's will in the royal presence; then summoned Charon, the Maire of Paris, and the Prevôst of the Merchants, Claude Marcel, and, still in the presence of Charles, charged them to close the gates of Paris, and distribute arms to all the Catholic inhabitants; finally arranging the subsequent proceedings with the Maréchal Tavannes; "the soldiers to be posted, 'after midnight,' in the front of the Louvre; the burgher guard distributed in various quarters of the city, and every Catholic to carry a white cross on his hat and a white scarf round his left arm; the signal for the massacre to be given by the great bell of the Louvre; and as soon as that was heard, all egress from the city to be prevented, and Catholic houses distinguished by lighted pitch torches before their doors; armed burghers then to force their way into all Protestant houses, and cut down every heretic discovered."

Such were the orders given, and they were carried out to the letter. Not one of the thousands initiated into the secret seems to have shrank from the crime.

Among the more distinguished of the Protestant leaders, for whom Charles professed a peculiar friendship, were Teligny, La Noue, and the amiable Count de Rochefoucault, and with them Charles supped and played on that St. Bartholomew's eve. But he felt no compunction for the doom awaiting them; only his chief surgeon, Paré, with whose skill Majesty could ill afford to dispense, did he care to rescue. Charles summoned him, indeed, to the palace, and locked him with the royal hands into the royal dressing room, then mounted to his forge, and occupied himself in his accustomed manner until the hour for the massacre had approached.

The second hour after midnight, and that of early mass had not yet sounded from the tower of St. Germain de l'Auxerrois on the 24th of August—a Sunday, and the feast of St. Bartholomew—when the Duke de Guise, accompanied by his uncle the Duke d'Aumale, and the Count d'Angoulême, proceeded with three hundred armed followers to the residence of the grand admiral. They knocked at the door; and Labonne, Coligny's major domo, demanded who it was required admission. "Open in the name of the king," was the reply; and Labonne, unsuspicious of evil, drew back the bolts, and the next instant fell pierced with a hundred wounds. The servants attending Coligny's sick bed, awaked by the disturbance, hurried down stairs, but flew back terror-stricken on seeing the court-yard full of armed men. They secured the house door; but the Duke of Guise had it burst open, and after every one encountered by his retainers had been slain, three of his noble partisans, Lebesme, Sarlabous, and Archille

Petrucci, accompanied by a guard of soldiers, mounted to the chamber where lay the admiral. Coligny raised himself with an effort, and grasped at the sword hanging over his pillow; but he was too weak to wield it, and sank back with a groan. The assassins at once pierced his breast with their daggers, then hacked his face and body with their swords; scarcely had they thus wreaked their vengeance than they flung the still palpitating corpse from the windows to their leader below, who cast it out to the mob, by whom it was dragged through the streets, and finally hung on a gibbet. The Leaguers then ransacked the whole house, murdering all they found within it,—Teligny, and Coligny's adjutant, the brave Guerchi, among the number, though both fell only after the most desperate resistance, and with their bodies covered with wounds.

The massacre had fairly began, and a messenger informed the king of Coligny's fate. Immediately the bell of the Louvre pealed ominously through the silence, and in a few instants was re-echoed from every church tower in Paris; the signal given; the streets were simultaneously lighted with gleaming pitch torches and cressets. The dead stillness of night suddenly changed into wild shrieks and tumult; followed by their men-at-arms, the Dukes of Guise, Nevers, and Montpensier, and Maréchals Tavannes and Retz, hurried through the city, crying, "Down with the heretics!" "Kill! kill!" was re-echoed by the vast mob already collected. All Huguenot dwellings were broken open; whoever was found within them, murdered. Hastily awakened from sleep, unarmed, but half dressed, few, indeed, escaped,

for those who reached the open air were struck down like wild beasts enclosed within a circle of hunters. There was safety nowhere; and soon every street ran red with blood, and grew more and more encumbered with the bodies of the slain. Sex or age, rank or distinguished services, were alike disregarded; men slaughtered even their nearest kindred with devilish impartiality; Catholic lads, scarce ten years old, rushed about with borrowed daggers to murder Protestant children in their beds. Soon nothing could be heard in the city but the report of musketry, mingled with the cries and groans of the victims, the crash of breaking doors and windows as the houses were forcibly entered, and fiercely, continuously above all else, the frantic shouts and curses of the murderers. Many who might possibly have saved themselves, losing all self-possession in the horror of the scene, sought death by their own hands.

Revolting as was the aspect of the streets, that presented by the stately halls and staircases of the Louvre was still more so. A few moments before the appointed time, Charles, with his mother and brothers, took their place on a balcony, to witness the opening of the spectacle. Silently he sat gazing into the still night, until suddenly the report of a musket immediately below was heard, and he knew by the signal that Coligny had ceased to live. Then the king rose, and, with frantic exultation, commanded the great bell to be rung. It pealed over the city, and, whilst giving its terrible message, the Swiss Guard were marshalled by their officers into two long-drawn lines, to be ready to strike down every Huguenot who should attempt to enter or

leave the Louvre; another detachment under Coconna and Cruice, took possession of the corridors of the palace, and thence proceeded to search every chamber where Protestant nobles or servants were lodged, dragged them from their beds into the court-yard, where, under the orders of d'O, colonel of the guard, they were all put to death. Yet this was enacted as noiselessly as possible, so the King of Navarre, who was lodged in the opposite wing, should not be awakened, and the danger of an armed resistance very possibly incurred. Henry of Navarre had invited the Prince of Condé and several of his most trusted friends to his apartments at midnight, on the 23rd, to consider what course it behoved them to pursue if King Charles refused adequate reparation for the attempt against Coligny. The discussion lasted some hours; and it was finally resolved to demand redress from his Majesty on the following morning, once more; and in the event of his refusal, at once declare to him they were resolved to attain it then by their own hands. Feeling little inclined to sleep, as it was now three o'clock, a game at tennis by moonlight, in the court-yard, was proposed to pass the interval until the king could receive them. Scarcely, however, had the friends entered the outer hall than they were seized by the guard and disarmed, before, in the confusion of the moment, they could use their swords in self-defence. The King of Navarre and the Prince de Condé were at once led to the balcony were sat the royal Valois, and there they first learnt the horrors enacting around them. The open square below the balcony was filled with a tumultuous, half frantic

crowd; at a little distance, a great heap of corpses, looking still more ghastly in the lurid light of the torches flickering round them. King Charles had a musket levelled, ready to fire on the poor wretches who might attempt escape by swimming the Seine. "Kill! kill! (tuez! tuez!) he shrieked, as Condé and Navarre entered, and he turned to take another piece, just loaded by an attendant stationed behind the royal chair. So was the sovereign of France occupied all that night. The two Bourbon princes shrank back horror-stricken; the king then first noticing their presence, cursed them as rebels and infidels; swore, unless they renounced their "Godless unbelief" within three days, their heads should pay for it. He then commanded their removal to a secure place of confinement, but where their lives would not be endangered. A very different destiny awaited their friends; they were at once dragged into the court-yard, and immediately despatched. Many offered a desperate resistance; they were unarmed, but they managed to get possession of the swords worn by their murderers, and, at least, sold their lives as dearly as possible; some endeavouring to escape through the palace, were pursued by the Swiss soldiers from chamber to chamber, and felled to the ground without mercy. By four o'clock that morning, scarcely a nook or corner of the stately Louvre but was befouled with blood. More than two hundred of the bravest and most influential of the higher ranks of the Huguenot aristocracy, and more than six hundred of the lesser nobles and knights, found their death there that night. Of all lodged under the royal roof, only Condé, Navarre, and five others, were

spared; the latter only from having found refuge in Queen Margaret's bedchamber.*

Whilst the hours thus passed within the Louvre, the massacre went on with unslackening fury throughout the city. No single house, where there seemed a possibility of a concealed Huguenot, but it was immediately ransacked. Every form of robbery, wholesale plunder, and violence, were superadded to this orgie of blood. The armed citizens and soldiers were joined by a vast crowd gathered from the vilest dregs of the populace, who seized with fiendish delight the opportunities thus offered to the indulgence of their passions. None of the reformed faith escaped, but a certain number on the other side the Seine, in the Faubourg St. Germain,—among them Colonel Montgomery, Vidame of Chartres. When the Duke of Guise had advanced against that quarter of Paris, he found the drawbridge raised, by which, alone, it could be entered. He immediately sent for the keys; but a considerable while elapsed before they were brought, and, meantime, one of the Protestant fugitives had managed to swim the river and

* They were the Dukes of Grammont and Duras, the Seigneur of Armagnac (Navarre's High Chamberlain), the Seigneur of Bons (his Master of the Horse), and Captain Gaston de Layran, bleeding from many wounds, and hotly pursued by a company of the guards; they forced their way into the chamber of their master's consort, and she, though but half dressed, faced the leader of the assassins (Nancai) so resolutely that he dared proceed no further, as he could not without employing personal violence to his sovereign's sister. He retired; Margaret made fast the door, and having waited till the tumult without had subsided, hurried to the king her brother, and throwing herself at his feet, refused to rise until he had granted the lives of the five whom her courage had saved.

carried intelligence of what was passing to his brethren on the other side. They, of course, at once sought safety in flight, though in such panic that many who went on foot hurried away shoeless, without the simplest article of dress, and others who had horses never stayed for saddle or bridle. Still, despite this, many succeeded in distancing the pursuers and reaching Calais, crossed the channel to England; but a far greater number were less fortunate, and being overtaken by the duke, were relentlessly murdered.

At length the sun arose; but on what horrors was its light to fall! On every threshold the dead and dying lay heaped together. Blood ran down the streets as in a slaughter-house, and the Seine was so completely choked with corpses that no boat could cross it. Tens of thousands had been killed, still the work of death was not allowed to cease; it continued by daylight with the same fury as in the darkness. The actors in the dire tragedy seem to have lost every feeling of humanity, and to have revelled in its horrors like Carib Indians at some monstrous orgie of blood. Many wore in their hats, in place of the white cross, the ear of a murdered Huguenot; some tossed dead heads and hands to each other in grim playfulness; others formed in procession behind a cross, on which a Protestant babe hung crucified. Not until vespers had sounded did the king give orders for the people of Paris to return to their dwellings; for, during the night, none but the royal bodyguard were allowed to perambulate the streets. Few, however, paid any regard to the order; and murder and robbery continued through that night and

the next day. That the king did not care to be taken at his word when he commanded the massacre to cease, we may conclude from the fact that, towards evening, he and his mother and her fair maids of honour went in a gay *cortège* through the blood-stained streets; and the gay laughter and pleased aspect of the royal party sufficiently proved the grateful nature of the spectacle offered them. The ladies appeared to find especial interest in inspecting the Seine, with its multitude of naked corpses thrown from the Louvre. The king, in passing the gallows on which the great admiral hung in chains, declared "the scent of Coligny's corruption was a sweeter savour in his nostrils than the perfume of roses and violets."

Whilst Paris was thus weltering in blood, like scenes were reproduced in the provinces, especially in their larger cities. On the nights of the 23rd and 24th, the king's messengers were speeding far and wide over the land, to bear the royal orders to all governors of towns and provinces, directing them to seize the persons and property of the Huguenots, and let loose the jealous fury of the people against them. The officials obeyed implicitly with but rare exceptions; and thus at Lyons, Orleans, Bordeaux, Toulouse, &c., &c., during the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth of August, as great a murder festival was held as that consummated on Bartholomew's eve at Paris. Though a few honourable men opposed the royal will, as, for example, the Vicomte d'Ortez, Governor of Bayonne, who wrote to the king: "He had made known his Majesty's pleasures to the people and soldiers of Bayonne, but could find no one to act as

executioner." Very few places escaped blood guiltiness; even in the smallest villages, a Bartholomew's eve was solemnized; and, in many localities, a virulent epidemic broke out from the effluvium of the unburied corpses left exposed in the fields. Speculators turned the tragedy to profitable account by boiling down the bodies, and drove a brisk trade in human fat. We have no means of ascertaining the exact number of the Calvinists who perished; it is given respectively at 50,000 and 100,000.* The truth lies, perhaps, midway between the two accounts; and we may conclude that about 70,000 persons were murdered.

It was, therefore, no marvel the joy of the orthodox passed all bounds, and that the old man at Rome was well-nigh beside himself in the greatness of the triumph. He took no pains to conceal his satisfaction; on the contrary, immediately on receiving the news, summoned the cardinals to proceed in solemn procession to St. Peter's, to give God thanks, whilst the cannons of St. Angelo thundered proudly, and the streets of Rome were illumined by bonfires. A great jubilee, and plenary indulgence was appointed by the Holy father, in his joy, on receiving the head of Coligny, which had been preserved in spirits, by order of the king, whilst he further rewarded his dear son with the title of "Piissimus," most Christian.

* The celebrated Sully states the number of the killed at 70,000, whilst the historian Perefixe, who wrote a biography of Henri IV., published in 1661, places it at 100,000. Of this we may be assured that the most sanguinary campaign had never cost so much in human life; for in the capital alone, 10,000 Huguenot corpses were counted!

The clergy in France were as jubilant as their chief in Rome; in every church thanksgivings were offered up; the parliament ordained that on each anniversary of St. Bartholomew's day, a great procession should assemble to solemnly express the nation's gratitude to God for the destruction of the Huguenots, and then voted a statue to Charles to be placed on the Pont Notre Dame, representing his majesty trampling the heretics beneath his feet.

The cause of Protestantism in France seemed lost for ever; for the terror throughout the land was so great that those who had survived the massacre no longer dared to openly confess their faith, and were, in seeming, reconciled to the orthodox church. Yet some weeks later, the Huguenots regained their old courage,—the good citizens of Rochelle giving the foremost example.

Seeing they must either tamely yield themselves to the ruthless cruelty and cupidity of their antagonists or defend their lives and property sword in hand, they closed the gates of the town, and made good its defence against all the efforts made by the royal army for its capture. Other cities followed the example of Rochelle; and a new Huguenot war arose, the end of which might indeed have been difficult to foresee, though Henry of Navarre and the Prince of Condé became subsequently the leaders on the Protestant side. The wrath of the pope (Pius was long dead, but his successor inherited his views) again reached its culminating point. At his bidding, Jesuits and Capuchins spread themselves over France, enflaming the bigotry of the Catholic population to madness. The League was reorganized; and all the

Catholic powers—the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy, especially,—received the apostolic orders to march upon France, and extirpate the heretics within its borders. The pope (Sixtus V.) even preached a general crusade, and declared that he who killed Henry of Navarre, or any of his heretical confederates, "though it were in their sleep," would accomplish a godly work.

We naturally cannot enter at length on the Huguenot struggle in France. Our purpose, here, is but to indicate "in what wise" the popes represented the duty of Christian charity; and the reader who has accompanied us thus far will have already seen sufficient exemplification of it. But the consequences of the Huguenot war were widely different to those anticipated at Rome. On the death of Charles IX. and his two brothers, despite the papal fiat, it was not the Duke of Guise, the rebel chief of the ultra-Catholics, but Henry IV., the legitimate heir of the house of Valois, to whom the crown of France descended; and he, by the Edict of Nantes, which secured full religious liberty to the Huguenots, at once put an end to the troubles that had so long distracted the country.

But the peace did not last long; the popes could not have consented to its doing so. Urban VIII. persuaded Louis XIII. to attempt once more the destruction of Protestantism; and the holy father had the satisfaction of seeing La Rochelle, after a siege of fourteen months, forced to surrender under the pressure of famine. But his hope that the king would, within a few days, "utterly uproot all the remaining heretics in the country," so wrote His Holiness to the King of France, was doomed

to disappointment, for the English obliged the king to grant full liberty of conscience to the Huguenots. A triumph far greater was secured under Louis XIV., for Jesuit interests; and the grand monarch merits the damning celebrity of having done more for the suppression of Protestantism than any king or kaiser that ever wore a crown.

In his reign, the Protestants no longer represented an armed political party in the state; under the Edict of Nantes, they had become peaceful, industrious citizens, whose exemplary conduct had even won the sympathy and respect of their Catholic fellow-subjects. But the pope and his partisans among the clergy would not forego their policy of hate, and brooded as unremittingly as ever over the means for destroying their old antagonists. It was long, however, before Louis XIV. could be brought to these views. Whilst in the full vigour of his years and faculties, he offered the most resolute opposition to the pretensions of Rome; but later, when sated with earthly grandeur, his Jesuit director, Père la Chaise (taken at the entreaty of Pope Clement X.), and Madame de Maintenon, (who had been carefully schooled by the pope, by whom she was honoured with the "golden rose,") persuaded the enfeebled monarch of the necessity of converting his Protestant subjects, in order to secure his own salvation; thenceforth, well nigh all his thoughts were devoted to this object. His first step was the withdrawal of certain privileges they had enjoyed, and a systematised petty oppression, accompanied by the most flattering inducements to recantation. A certain fund was appointed

for the reward of those who yielded to the royal wishes; but as all these means alike failed, another course was adopted in 1680; not only were all marriages forbidden between Catholics and Protestants, but the latter were declared incapable of filling any public office, or pursuing any trade or profession, whilst, in upwards of six hundred communes, the rites of Protestant worship were rigidly interdicted. Conversion to Protestantism from Catholicism was made punishable with death; Huguenot children were taken by thousands from their parents, under pretence of their own desire for "reconciliation." Adult converts gained from the Protestant ranks were exempted for two years from all taxes, and from the liability of having soldiers quartered on them; whilst Protestants who showed no sign of yielding had their houses so crowded with the military, there was frequently no corner left for themselves. This system of military quartering was called the "booted missions," or "dragonades," since among the troops thus employed, the dragoons distinguished themselves by the greatest violence and crimes. Still the purpose aimed at was not reached; the Huguenots, instead of suffering themselves to be "dragooned" into the fold of the Church, were but forced, by their sufferings, to escape the country whenever it was possible for them to do so. Then Louis XIV. published a decree (1682), by which an attempt to emigrate was made punishable by sentence to the galleys for life, and connivance in such an attempt, to involve a fine of 6,000 francs. All Catholics were prohibited from purchasing houses, land, or any kind of property, from Huguenots, and all purchases

already made declared null and void. The frontiers were jealously watched, especially along the sea-coast, that no fugitives might escape, whilst persons suspected merely of a wish to do so were to be summarily arrested. Wherever a Huguenot community had existed, though its church had long been closed, bands of soldiers and the militia were ever on the watch to discover and forcibly disperse every gathering for public worship, whether held in the fields or a private dwelling; and every preacher thus taken was at once sent to the rack, the gibbet, or the galleys. In 1684, the king went still further, and publicly announced but one religion could be suffered within his domains. The dragonades became, consequently, still more merciless; every province so devastated by the locust swarm of soldiers, that the peasants, driven to desperation and in dread of perishing by famine, saw no resource but in recantation. By these means, 100,000 members of the Reformed faith were restored to orthodoxy in Bearn, Languedoc, Guienne, Poitou, &c.; and then Pope Innocent XI. assured the most Christian king that as the remaining heretics persevered in their errors from pure perversity, their reconciliation with the Church might be forcibly effected without compunction. He brought the monarch to his views, and to the complete prohibition of Protestantism. On the 22nd of the following October, the Edict of Nantes was revoked, and the Huguenots forbidden, under penalty of death and confiscation of their property, from practising their religion. All Huguenot's children were to be immediately baptized according to the Catholic ritual, and thenceforth educated in

it at their parents' charge, whilst Huguenot preachers and teachers were warned to recant, or leave the country within fourteen days, unless they preferred the galleys to exile.

The king was minded to make an end of Protestantism once for all. The feelings of the Huguenots may too easily be imagined; each man's thoughts were turned to instant flight, and though death or the galleys might too probably be the result, thousands upon thousands sought the frontiers. They had but one object—escape from Romanism. Disguised as beggars, pilgrims, wandering minstrels, students, soldiers, or assuming any dress that seemed to promise safety, they nearly all got away, despite the frontier guards. The greater number sought Germany and Switzerland; others went to Holland, or even to England, though they there had to risk their lives in wretched fishing boats. Many, indeed, were seized, chained, and sent to the galleys or the plantations in the West Indies; but the fate of the less fortunate daunted not those who followed their example, and were well content to give all they possessed in the world to gain the connivance of a sentinel. It is supposed that within those twelve months France lost 700,000 of the most wealthy, industrious, and intelligent of her population. The German governments received the fugitives with open arms, and, as they carried French industrial talents with [illegible]

to be plucked out hair by hair, or bound burning coals into their clasped hands, or oiled rags round their fingers, which were afterwards set on fire, or secured their feet in a square of wood, so that they could neither

original insurgent chiefs, Roland, Ravanel, and Catinat,

under the operation.

This was especially illustrated in Languedoc, then governed by the Intendant de Baville, and in 1685, despite the revoked edict, the rites of the Protestant faith were still celebrated there.

De Baville, on learning this enormity, at once marched to suppress it, had the congregation dispersed by his soldiers, whom he commanded to put the women and children to the sword, and secure the men for transmission to the galleys; the preachers seized were immediately drowned, or died on the rack.* Yet, despite all this, the Protestant faith was still far from completely suppressed; and though, after a time, none of its ministers dared openly perform the service of their church, yet many of the people, excited by the enthusiasm persecution always gives birth to, believed themselves called on to "preach repentance," and administer spiritual consolation to their brethren. They thus went through the country from house to house, and their number by 1688 was already very considerable. These "preachers of repentance" adopted, as much as possible, the verbal style of the prophets of the Old Testament, and claimed with them the gift of prophecy; they were very numerous throughout all lower Languedoc, and especially in the Cevenne mountains. The Intendant Baville naturally showed not more mercy to these new preachers than he had done to their more regular predecessors. In one

edict of Nantes was revoked, and the Hugu-

bidden, under penalty of death and confiscation of their property, from practising their religion. All Huguenot's children were to be immediately baptized according to the Catholic ritual, and thenceforth educated in

month (November, 1701,) he caused twenty-one of their number to be put to death, but still their ranks were ever more rapidly replenished, and still the converts from the orthodox church became ever more numerous. Clement XI., learning this unsatisfactory state of things, sent missionaries to confute the "repentance preachers;" but his monks, no matter what their eloquence or the colour of their gowns, could gain no listeners. The chief of the Roman missionaries, Langlade du Chaila, seeing that force alone could gain his ends, put himself at the head of the soldiers constantly engaged in hunting out the Huguenot religious gatherings, forced his way into every hiding place, even the most secret, and not only had the preachers seized immediately hung, but subjected the lay members of the congregation to every species of torture to make them betray their brethren in the faith;* thus hoping, by a single campaign, to secure the whole "viperous brood." This severity had already driven the people to the verge of desperation, when he seized several wealthy Huguenots on their way to Geneva, and refused to take the heavy ransom offered by their friends for their release. Then the latter, arming themselves with scythes, surrounded Du Chaila's house at night, and, having liberated his prisoners, set fire to it, and murdered him. This occurred on the 23rd July,

* He caused, for example, the eyebrows and beards of his prisoners to be plucked out hair by hair, or bound burning coals into their clasped hands, or oiled rags round their fingers, which were afterwards set on fire, or secured their feet in a square of wood, so that they could neither

original insurgent chiefs, Roland, Ravanel, and Catinat,

under the operation.

already made declared null and void. The frontiers were jealously watched, especially along the sea-coast, that no fugitives might escape, whilst persons suspected merely of a wish to do so were to be summarily arrested. Wherever a Huguenot community had existed, though its church had long been closed, bands of soldiers and the militia were ever on the watch to discover and forcibly disperse every gathering for public worship, whether held in the fields or a private dwelling; and every preacher thus taken was at once sent to the rack, the gibbet, or the galleys. In 1684, the king went still further, and publicly announced but one religion could be suffered within his domains. The dragonades became, consequently, still more merciless; every province so devastated by the locust swarm of soldiers, that the peasants, driven to desperation and in dread of perishing by famine, saw no resource but in recantation. By these means, 100,000 members of the Reformed faith were restored to orthodoxy in Bearn, Languedoc, Guienne, Poitou, &c.; and then Pope Innocent XI. assured the most Christian king that as the remaining heretics persevered in their errors from pure perversity, their reconciliation with the Church might be forcibly effected without compunction. He brought the monarch to his views, and to the complete prohibition of Protestantism. On the 22nd of the following October, the Edict of Nantes was revoked, and the Huguenots forbidden, under penalty of death and confiscation of their property, from practising their religion. All Huguenot's children were to be immediately baptized according to the Catholic ritual, and thenceforth educated in

it at their parents' charge, whilst Huguenot preachers and teachers were warned to recant, or leave the country within fourteen days, unless they preferred the galleys to exile.

The king was minded to make an end of Protestantism once for all. The feelings of the Huguenots may too easily be imagined; each man's thoughts were turned to instant flight, and though death or the galleys might too probably be the result, thousands upon thousands sought the frontiers. They had but one object—escape from Romanism. Disguised as beggars, pilgrims, wandering minstrels, students, soldiers, or assuming any dress that seemed to promise safety, they nearly all got away, despite the frontier guards. The greater number sought Germany and Switzerland; others went to Holland, or even to England, though they there had to risk their lives in wretched fishing boats. Many, indeed, were seized, chained, and sent to the galleys or the plantations in the West Indies; but the fate of the less fortunate daunted not those who followed their example, and were well content to give all they possessed in the world to gain the connivance of a sentinel. It is supposed that within those twelve months France lost 700,000 of the most wealthy, industrious, and intelligent of her population. The German governments received the fugitives with open arms, and, as they carried French industrial talents with [illegible]

o be plucked out hair by hair, or bound burning coals into their clasped hands, or oiled rags round their fingers, which were afterwards set on fire, or secured their feet in a square of wood, so that they could neither original insurgent chiefs, Roland, Ravanel, and Catinat

7 *

under the operation.

denounced him as a traitor; but Villars sent his agents with heavy purses among their own adherents, and they were soon betrayed into his hands. Thus closed the Camisade war, after four hundred towns, villages, and hamlets, had been burnt, and 50,000 Protestants, and as many Catholics, had perished. Still the reformed faith continued to exist in France, as we see by the fact that, in 1728, a Huguenot minister was hanged at Montpellier, whilst thirty-six years later, a Huguenot synod was held in a retired corner of Lower Languedoc, at which fifty secret Huguenots' communities were represented.

Later, in 1744, Protestantism again seemed recovering something of its earlier vigour; and though more than three hundred persons were put to death for their faith, yet general enlightenment spread so fast that the papal appeals were comparatively unheeded. Francois Rochette, who suffered at Toulouse, February 18th, 1762, was the last French martyr for conscience sake; and since the revolution of 1789, Protestantism has been legally recognised in France, to the great scandal of the apostolic throne.

Extirpation of Protestantism in England.

A far different destiny awaited the reformed doctrines in England than that they encountered in France. Yet, on the death of Edward VI., Catholicism appeared likely to again rise supreme. Queen Mary I. at once opened negociations with the pope; caused all Protestant preachers and teachers to be imprisoned; whilst Cardinal Pole,

the papal legate, appointed Catholic bishops to episcopal sees, and even induced the parliament to pass the most merciless laws against all dissentients from the orthodox church. The position of English Protestants was greatly aggravated during the four following years. In 1554, the pope effected a marriage between the elderly queen (Mary was then forty years of age) and the saturnine, bigoted valetudinarian, Philip of Spain, who was but six-and-twenty. The English sovereign became the veriest slave of the consort for whom she entertained her infatuated and ill-repaid love. In imitation of the Spanish Inquisition, by the advice of Pope Julius III., she established the so-called Heretic commission, formed by twenty-six judges, presided over by Bishop Bonner; and then commenced a system of persecution in England, which even Innocent III. could scarcely have wished more ruthless. Every possible form of punishment was employed with the lower classes to bring them back to the Church, whilst the reformed clergy were summarily imprisoned, and made to choose between death and recantation.

More than eight hundred Protestants, bishops and members of the lower clergy, thus suffered martyrdom, —among them, Latimer, Ridley, Ferrer, Hooper, and Cranmer; whilst with each year the furious zeal of the queen seemed to burn fiercer. The pope was jubilant *in excelsio*, and caused a medal to be struck in her honour; but disaffection began to show itself among the people, and, but for the queen's death, in 1550, a rebellion inevitably would have broken out.

Elizabeth began her reign on a very different policy;

and in defiance of the bull of anathema* thundered against her by Pope Pius V., February 25th, 1570, at once restored Protestantism to the position it has ever since maintained in her kingdom. Such a miscarriage to their best hopes must have been a cruel blow to the Romanists; but they failed not to try every means to overthrow the high-hearted heretic queen, though failure followed each new attempt. Thirty years later, Clement VIII. succeeded in fomenting a rebellion in Ireland, which lasted during four years, and carried desolation over the whole country. The rebellion arose in 1595, when His Holiness graciously presented the island to the King of Spain. The latter accepted the gift, and despatched a considerable army to assist the rebels. The Spanish commander of the expedition was Don Aquila, who had received from the pope, in its honour, the glorious title of "Restorer of the Faith."

On the 24th of December, 1601, the united Irish and Spaniards were completely routed by Lord Montjoy, of Kinsale; and the sister island bowed once more under the English sceptre, whilst the papal propaganda had no other result than the destruction of a great number of the inhabitants and the confiscation of their estates.

* In this Bull, the queen is designated as the most godless and depraved wretch existent on God's earth, for had she not refused reconciliation with Rome. Pius absolved all her subjects from their oath of allegiance, and called on the Duke of Alva to take ship for England, to re-establish the papacy throughout the land, which his holiness, moreover, presented forthwith to King Francis II. of France, who assumed the arms and titles of the kings of England, and despatched a body of soldiers to Scotland; but Elizabeth, happily, intercepted them, and they were obliged to capitulate.

For forty years, there was peace in Ireland; but in 1641, the Roman legate, Rinuccini, contrived to excite the Catholics to revolt once more, and the whole priesthood at once assumed the direction of the movement. The scheme was a reproduction of the French St. Bartholomew; and on October 23rd, 1641, the Irish Catholics fell on the unsuspecting Protestants and murdered not less than 50,000; women, old men, young children, none were spared; and only by rare good fortune and rapid flight did any escape alive. The rejoicing at Rome was boundless at such a triumph, and Pope Urban VIII. announced a grand jubilee year in its honour; but retribution inevitably followed, though for eight years deferred. In 1649, Cromwell landed in Ireland; took the chief cities by storm; put all their inhabitants to the sword, and, in nine months, poured out more Catholic blood than all the Protestant that had ever flowed there. Since then, Catholicism in Ireland has been subject to greater or less repression; and the efforts of the popes have culminated in a widely different result than that proposed by them.

IV.—Extirpation of Protestantism in Spain.

That Protestantism should ever make its way into Spain in defiance of the sleepless watchfulness of the Inquisition might well have been doubted; and assuredly it would never have done so, but for the union of the two crowns of Germany and Spain on the head of Charles V.,—a union which had resulted in a continual intercourse between the two countries; so that the Spa-

niards grew acquainted with Luther's doctrines as early as the year 1519. Even before that date, the great reformer's writings had penetrated beyond the Pyrenees, and were so eagerly sought after by their new enthusiasts, that Leo X. found himself called on to issue a Bull (March 20th, 1521), directing the Grand Inquisitor of Spain to cause all such writings to be diligently searched for, and their dissemination prevented. The Inquisition obeyed; private dwellings were ransacked, and all persons found in the possession of the offending works thrown into prison, the Holy Office declaring it as "pious an achievement to kill a Lutheran as to slay a Turk in battle." Yet, notwithstanding this activity, the heretical doctrines found ever new converts, even among the highest ranks of society, —such men, indeed, as Don Juan Valdez, Secretary to Charles V., and Don Rodrigo de Valer, the wealthy noble of Sevilla. Both were seized, and, by various means, brought to renounce their "errors;" but they were, none the less, imprisoned for life in a monastery, to avoid any danger of their inoculating others with their earlier heterodoxy. Still undeterred by their fate, new converts eagerly adopted Protestantism,— the famous preacher, Don Juan Gil, commonly called Dr. Egidius, appeared openly in a pulpit in Seville, to enunciate doctrines scarcely distinguishable from the Lutheran. He was, however, compelled to retract them, under threat of close imprisonment for life. But the seed sown by him had fallen on a fruitful soil; and in about the year 1555, a secret Protestant community was

formed in that city, and held its meetings in the house of a noble lady, Dona Isabella de Baena. We may observe that the members of this society belonged generally to the higher ranks of the nobility; and thus it happened that, for some length of time, they remained unmolested.

It was but a short while after this, when Francisco Enzinas translated the New Testament, and Juan Perez the Old,* into Spanish. The translations were secretly conveyed into Spain; the new teaching then spread rapidly among the common people, and Protestant communities as rapidly increased. Among the more important were those of Seville, already referred to; of Valladolid (founded by Francisco San Roman, who expiated the crime on the scaffold), Toro, Zamora, Valencia, Osma, Logrono, &c., &c. Within a brief period, Lutheranism threatened to establish itself throughout the length and breadth of the land; and had the Inquisition but delayed its desperate remedies a moment longer, all Spain would have been infected with the heresy. Strangely enough, it was not until 1557 that the Inquisition gained any clue to the existence of these Lutheran communities. Then one

* Enzinas had the New Testament printed at Lowen; Perez, the Old, in Geneva; but, for some length of time, few copies of either could be smuggled into Spain. Pope Julius III., in a bull issued in 1550, denounced the strictest prohibition against the new kind of contraband wares. Seven years later, Juan Hernandez, generally called Juan el Pequeno, a corrector for the press at Geneva, and a very keen-witted fellow, undertook to deliver two barrels of Bibles in Spain, over the Pyrenees. He successfully fulfilled his contract, cheating the servants of the Holy Office by the false bottoms in his barrels; and the contents were safely deposited with one of the most devoted Protestants in Seville.

of the spies maintained by it at Geneva obtained information of a large consignment of heretical books, —translations of the Bible among them—having been despatched thence to Spain; and, of course, every means was employed to discover the recipient. Juan Hernandez, known to have previously smuggled the Bible into the peninsular, was the first person arrested. During three years, every possible ingenuity of torture was employed to make him betray his fellow believers in vain, and the Inquisition would still have been defeated but for the wife of Juan Garcia, a goldsmith; she, under the influence of her confessor, denounced her husband, and betrayed the place of assembly used by his co-religionists. The terrible tribunal was at last on the right trail, and within a few days 200 persons were thrown into the prisons of the Inquisition at Valladolid; more than 800 into those of Sevilla. This happened at the beginning of the year 1558; and Paul IV., who was as energetic as he was cruel, published a brief on the 15th of February of the same year, charging Valdez, Grand Inquisitor of Spain, to destroy "utterly all Protestants and friends of Protestantism, though they might be bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, cardinals, nuncios, or barons, counts, dukes, princes, kings, or kaisers," so ran the words of His Holiness; and Valdez carried them out but too willingly. The Holy Office enjoyed the full support of the temporal power, for Philip II. sat on the Spanish throne. An example was to be given the world how heresy should be exterminated root and branch. The Inquisition employed two years in its requisite preparations; and then,

in 1560, were inaugurated those dread religious exhibitions known to us as *Autos da fé.**

The Auto da fé (Latin, actus fidei, act of faith) was generally consummated on a Sunday, and the principal square of the town was employed for the celebration. With daybreak the bell of the chief church began to toll, the inquisitors within a short period proceeded to the prisons, to array the victims. Each received a so-called "san benito," *i. e.*, a wide yellow cloak; but with this distinction, that the san benitos of those who were to be strangled before being given to the flames, bore the painted flames upon them turned downwards, whilst the san benitos of the others doomed to be burnt alive had the flames turned upwards, and amid them devils, with three-pronged forks, dancing grotesquely. The tall pointed paper cap placed on the victim's head, was adorned in the same ingenious manner.

The first Auto da fé took place on Trinity Sunday, May 21st, 1559, in the city of Valladolid, and in the presence of the infanta Don Carlos, the queen mother,

* The *auto da fé* was intended, indeed, to typify the last judgment. When the prisoners had been made ready, and the civil authorities and clergy assembled in the hall of the Inquisition Palace, the great procession was at once marshalled. First went a division of soldiers; then a multitude of priests in their robes, followed by the children from the various schools, singing hymns; then came the prisoners, each with a crucifix in his bound hands, a halter round his neck, and accompanied by a monk on either side; then the local authorities, with various grandees on horseback, the secular and regular clergy; then, with solemn, measured steps, the members of the Holy Office, preceded by their treasurer bearing a red standard; finally came its so-called "familiars," also on horseback. Solemnly the long-drawn procession wound into the place of execution, where vast, indeed, had been the preparations for all the multitude of spectators attracted by the coming spectacle.

Johanna, and many thousand of the highest born in the realm. More than eight hours were required for the business of the day—from six o'clock in the morning, until two at noon, indeed, before the six ladies and eight noble gentlemen, condemned, were beyond the reach of further suffering.

The second Auto da fé followed in October, 1559, also at Valladolid, the whole court, king, and infanta included, honouring the spectacle with their presence. The succeeding "acts of faith" came rapidly on each other in every city and town in Spain. It was at Sevilla, however, they maintained their greatest importance, where rarely less than thirty or forty heretics were burnt on each occasion. We are not to suppose heresy was confined to the laity, many members of the higher clergy were affected by it; among these twenty-five doctors of theology, eight bishops; even an archbishop of Toledo, Bartolomeo de Caranza y Miranda, were obliged to submit themselves to the tribunal; not, indeed, that they were complete Lutherans, but in this or that dogma they had, perhaps, somewhat fallen away from the exact standard of Rome.

With the year 1570, and after one hundred and fifty-six Autos da fé had taken place, Protestantism expired in Spain, and it never again raised its head there; for, though in 1680 a magnificent Auto da fé was held at Madrid, in honour of the marriage of Carlos II. with Marie Louise de Bourbon, among the sufferers we find the name of but one Protestant recorded, and he being a fugitive, was only burnt in effigy.

A very different result followed the crusade against

the Reformed faith in the Spanish Netherlands. Philip II. introduced the Inquisition there, to extirpate, as in Spain, every trace of religious freedom; but there the indignation of the nation was aroused, and a rebellion followed, which the king failed to suppress, despite the magnificent army at his disposal, despite the genius, and the cruelties of his accomplished general and executioner, the duke of Alva, under whose axe the heads, not only of thousands of the lower ranks, but of the chief nobles in the land, alike fell. Philip's Alter ego established the so-called Council of Blood, whose jurisdiction all the local authorities were bound to obey; and "inspired by the pope, from whom he received the title of 'Defender of the holy Catholic faith,' and a hat and sword blessed by the successor of St. Peter, as though the ruthless instrument of Papal and Spanish persecution had been a sovereign prince," he caused more than 8000 persons to be executed in the market-place of Brussels alone, whilst the number of those killed throughout the provinces may be estimated at 100,000. But the Netherlanders won their freedom, and Spain having sacrificed its army, and incurred a debt of 800,000,000 piastres, sank to the status of a second-rate power.

V.—Extirpation of Protestantism in Italy.

It might well be thought impossible that the doctrines of the Reformers should ever penetrate into Italy, the very seat and focus of the papacy; yet so it was, though not in the same measure as in France, Spain, and England. At the very commencement of the movement,

many of Luther's, Zwingli's, and Melancthon's writings, made their way over the Alps, and were translated into Italian.*

The new doctrines met little favour, however, among the lower classes, and were chiefly confined to persons of higher rank and education; but after the translation of the Bible, published at Venice, in 1530, by Antonio Brucioli of Florence, a great change was manifested. The people eagerly read the book so long closed to them, and so great grew the demand, that many editions rapidly followed each other, whilst fresh translations were made by Fra Zaccario, Felippo, Rustici, and others. Many Protestants crossed the Alps into Italy during the Italian campaign of Francois I. of France, against Charles V., and did not fail to hold many a controversy on the subject of their faith with those of the old creed, and thus aided the movement.

Heresy, indeed, was taking root in the peninsular, and Clement VII. writes in 1530:—"With what grief of soul he has learnt that in many places throughout Italy Lutheran doctrines had not only spread among the laity, but had even taken hold of the priesthood and the monks; this, too, in so virulent a degree, that not merely in the private conversation of the latter, but in their public teaching, they seek to spread the evil among their ignorant listeners." Protestant commu-

* To evade the watchfulness of the Holy Office, the Italians printed the works of the heretic teachers under pseudonyms: thus, Melancthon became Messer Ippofilo di Terra Negra; Zwingli, Corricius Cogelius; Martin Bucer, Aretius Telinus; whilst Luther was exalted into Cardinal Fregoso.

nities were organised, the members meeting for worship in the house of one of their number. This was the case at Faenza, where the court favoured the new doctrines, and in Modena, several of whose citizens had been in correspondence with the great German Reformer as early as 1520; in Bologna, in Venice, always one of the least obedient children of *the church*, and in Milan, Lucca, Naples, Sicily. There was, indeed, an universal movement in favour of religious freedom, and Cardinal Caraffa might well declare that if an immediate plan of repression were not adopted, a general abandonment of the Church might be feared. Such were the characteristics of the year 1542; but the pope resolved to lose no longer time in applying the required remedy.

The Inquisition offered the readiest means for destroying Protestantism; but the Inquisition as it existed in Spain was now needed. It had long been established in Italy, and was charged with the denunciation of heretics; but they were immediately placed in the hands of the bishops, to whom the conduct of the trial appertained. The Inquisition in Italy possessed no independent jurisdiction, no distinct tribunal, as in Spain; but it was now felt that only by such a tribunal would it be possible to save the orthodoxy of the country from the threatened flood of schism, and Paul IV. proceeded, therefore, to constitute by a Bull, bearing date April 1, 1543, the "Congregation of the Holy Office," under six cardinals as grand inquisitors, and forthwith decreed that all matters touching heresy should be thenceforth submitted to the new court. The "Congregation" at once entered on its active duties, established Provincial

tribunals; no single state in the peninsular resisted the innovations; even Venice and Naples submitted, though under some unimportant restrictions. Arrests were immediately commenced, and so great grew the terror, that all who feared liability to suspicion at once took flight for Germany or Switzerland. Still the prisons were crowded to overflowing, for the towns and cities swarmed with multitudes of paid spies, who, provided with every facility for introducing themselves to the most distinguished of the nobles and citizens, soon contrived to penetrate into every family circle, and kept the inquisitors informed of all that came to their knowledge. At first, accused persons were only subjected to imprisonment, as it was hoped by the moral torture of solitary confinement in the dungeons, they might be brought to recant: but, by 1550, this process was discovered to be much too tedious, and the public burnings were commenced, as in Spain and elsewhere.*

We cannot enumerate all these individual sufferers, or the multitudes that perished on the rack; we must

* In Venice alone the victims were not burnt, but simply drowned, yet the silence and mystery accompanying these executions rendered them, if possible, more terrible to the imagination than those at the stake. The condemned was taken at midnight from his dungeon, gagged, that he could utter no sound, placed in a gondola, and rowed out beyond the arsenal to the sea; there another gondola was in waiting, his hands were made fast, a great stone secured to his feet, then a plank laid between the boats, on which he was made to stand, and, at a given signal, the rowers pulled off in opposite directions, the plank fell into the water, and the victim disappeared below the surface for ever. Many perished thus at Venice: among them not a few highly distinguished men, such as Giulio Guirlando, Antonio Richetto, Francisco Spinola, and Baldo Lupetino, the monk for whom so many German princes in vain interceded.

BOOK V.

POPE AND INFALLIBILITY.

"Last ein Pfaff sich blicken
Geht der Recht auf Krücken.
Thut aber du Oberpfaff anrücken
Muss selbst der Teüfel sich bücken."

Altes Lied.

"If a priest but show his nose,
Justice upon crutches goes.
Should the mighty pope appear,
The devil himself must bow in fear."

Old Song.

"Die einzige vernuftige Liebe ist die Liebe zu sich selbst; und ein Scheffelsackvoll Recht wiegt nicht so viel als eine Handvoll Macht."—*Paschalis*, 1.

"The only rational love is love for one's self; and a bushel of justice weigheth not so much as a handful of power."

CHAPTER I.

PERIOD PRECEDING THE GREAT SCHISM.

"THE Pope is infallible!" This dogma was early enunciated by the successors of St. Peter, who deduced it from the premise that the Church, in its corporate capacity, cannot err," thus reasoning: "We, the chief head of the Church, representing the unity of the Church, which is, as it were, typified and absorbed into our person, so that its infallibility passeth to ourselves. All question of the fact is inadmissible, for we are God's vicegerent upon earth; and, therefore, our decrees may be regarded as emanating from God himself. It is through us the Holy Ghost holds communion with mankind; and it is by the direct intervention of the Holy Ghost that we are appointed; for is it not with the following words that we receive the sacred tiara: 'Accept thou the triple crown, and know that thou art the father of princes and kings, the ruler and guider of the world, the vicegerent of our Redeemer, Jesus Christ, upon earth.'"* Thus, at the moment we

* The words used at a papal coronation are—"Accipe tiaram tribus ornatam, et scias te esse patrem principum et regum, rectorem orbis, in terra vicarium salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi," &c., &c.

assume the papal dignity, all mere human affections fall from our person, and only the spirit of God remains within us. Nor could this be otherwise; for has not our office "been appointed by God, so that our utterances shall be held as the utterances of God. He who created the world would not commend its guidance to an erring, uncertain, humble mortal." Such are the arguments of the pope and his adherents. But let us briefly investigate this "Infallibility." Let us especially mark the strange methods by which the influence of the Holy Ghost declares itself, and has always declared itself, at the papal elections.

In all that concerns papal infallibility, it must be conceded that the bishops of Rome exhibit a marvellous consistency; each follows in the steps of his predecessor, maintaining all that earlier popes maintained; each bows to the traditions handed down from his great forbears, and carries on the work they began, in devout pursuance of its original design. But the popes may be well content to accept this policy, for only thus could the proud edifice of the papacy be raised to its full completion. Still, here and there, slight discrepancies make their appearance even in church dogma, and a pope denounces that which his predecessor had made orthodox. We will cite a few instances; they will, at least, deserve a smile from the reader. Bishop Julius I. (337-352) had completely adopted the opinions of Bishop Athanasius regarding the Arians; his successor, Liberius (352-366), on the contrary, damned Athanasius everlastingly to hell fire, and expelled him from the community of the

Church, in obedience to the wishes of the Emperor Constantius. Two years later, Liberius having reflected over this sentence, and, under the influence of certain bishops of the eastern church, was suddenly induced to declare the Athanasian doctrine perfectly orthodox. The inconsistency so greatly incensed Constantius that he deposed Liberius, and appointed a certain Felix in his place; but the noble dames of Rome were so heart-broken at this, they proceeded in a great deputation to the emperor to entreat the restoration of their exiled favourite. The emperor's heart was softened by their prayers, and he promised Liberius forgiveness on condition he would abandon his obstinate opposition to the Arians. The disgraced bishop, on learning this, at once expressed his readiness to meet the imperial will, doubtless having found the society of his fair penitents in Rome far more congenial than the dreary honours of banishment. Felix was sent into a monastery, and Liberius reinstated in his former dignities, and thenceforth took good heed only to write and speak in full accordance with the "heretic" Arians. A brief of Liberius is still extant, in which he denounces in the most emphatic terms the "orthodox" Athanasius. Seventy years subsequently, Zosimus (417-418) acted much in the same manner. The Church, at that time, had fallen into a sorely distracted state. So great was the opposition excited by the heretical teaching of Pelagius, that the Christian camp was divided into rival orthodox and Pelagian factions. Pope Innocent I. (401-417) was on the orthodox side, and anathematized Pelagius and all his adherents; the succeeding

pontiff, Zosimus, reversed the sentence, and declared Pelagius orthodox; then the Emperor Theodosius II. took up the dispute, and obliged Zosimus to declare the Pelagian doctrines schismatical. The bishop of Rome, as a discreet courtier, dared not refuse; and he not only rescinded his formal recognition of them, but pronounced the eternal ban of the Church against their author, in proof of the unerring infallibility of papal judgments.

The popes fell into still more striking self-contradiction in the dogmas regarding the Sacrament; Bishop Julius (337-352) declared that the "distribution of the bread and wine alike to each communicant was a divine ordination, and a custom of apostolic origin." Leo the Great (440-451) went still farther, and decreed "all persons who would partake of the body of Christ without drinking his blood should be thrust out of the communion of the Church." Pope Gelasius (492-496) declared emphatically that those who accepted the bread and left the chalice were undoubted heretics, for the separation "of one and the same mystery could not be without a great sin against God." But before the close of the twelfth century, the succeeding popes had announced the "chalice" must be foregone by the laity, who were, in future, to partake of the sacramental bread alone. This canon then became a fundamental dogma, as it exists to the present day, whilst anathema was fulminated against all who should question it. Thus, despite infallibility, certain inconsistencies make themselves sufficiently evident in the theology of Rome; but it is still more surprising to find a pope charge his predecessor with

mental incapacity. This happened, however, when Bishop Hormisdas (514-523) declared that the assertion, "one of the persons of the Trinity had been crucified," was truly monstrous; for his successors, John II. (532-536) and Agapet I. (536-537), replied, that if none of the persons of the Trinity had so died, then the Son of God had not been born in the flesh, and the Virgin Mary was not the mother of God, as the Church had so long acknowledged her to be; regardless of the false position in which they placed the memory of the heterodox pope, they declared his teaching on this point as "godless as it was mad," which, indeed, orthodoxy still holds it to be.

Papal infallibility was placed in a still more cruel dilemma by Bishop Vigilius (538-555). The Emperor Justinian, who occupied himself much more with theology than with the government of his dominions, declared the doctrines of the now dead Theodore of Mopsveste, Theodoret of Cyrus, and Ilas of Edessa, as heterodox, though their writings had received the approval of the Council of Chalcedon. The bishops of the Eastern church were devoutly in accord with Constantinople court theology, but the prelates at a greater distance from imperial influences—especially Vigilius, bishop of Rome—firmly, though respectfully, declined to pronounce the ban against the three offending "fathers." Vigilius was then cited to appear at Constantinople; and so well did the emperor and his consort use their various methods of conviction, that the bishop shortly denounced Ilas and his two associates as heretical in the highest degree. He then pronounced the ban against them,

and promised to bring his episcopal brethren in the West to the like adoption of the imperial views. Justinian was not content, however, with a mere promise;—his convert was made to swear, on the "four Evangelists and the holy nails:"* he would do all in his power to secure the condemnation of the said theologians throughout Christendom. A great council was summoned at Constantinople in 553, to solemnly ratify the religious doctrines adopted by the emperor, who, indeed, had never doubted an instant of their ultimate triumph. But the Western bishops proved stiffnecked, and informed Vigilius, through the archbishop of Milan, that under no pretence would they recognise the condemnation of the three said doctors. They even threatened all who accorded obedience to the imperial demands with exclusion from the communion of the church, and brought Vigilius into so distracted a state of mind that he seems to have well nigh lost his reason. At first he was quite irresolute; then, on reflecting that, as "patriarch of Rome," the unity of the Italian, French, and Spanish church was of higher moment to him than even the favour of the Byzantine emperor, he wrote off to the archbishop of Milan, stating, that subsequent reflection had induced a change in his opinions;—that he was firmly resolved not to condemn Theodore of Mopsveste and his brethren. "But whilst the emperor thus exercised his restraining power, he could not openly acknowledge his changed views, and should be obliged to act with discretion." This letter was despatched by a

* Those by which Christ had been fastened to the cross, and which were afterwards preserved in the Santa Sophia.

confidential messenger; but Justinian learnt its contents and immediately cited the perjured priest to appear before him. Vigilius sought sanctuary in a church, trusting the emperor would respect the sanctity of the place; but great was his self-deception. Justinian caused the doors to be forced, and the offending prelate seized and thrown into prison. His place of confinement could not have been very secure, for he contrived to escape and get from Constantinople by sea to Chalcedon, where he found concealment in a monastery. The emperor was incensed beyond measure at the offender having thus evaded justice, and laid the document, in which Vigilius had solemnly agreed to pronounce the condemnation of the three theologians, before a council shortly assembled at Constantinople, and demanded that the name of the said Vigilius should be erased from the records of the church as a perjurer. The council proved obedient: the name of the bishop of Rome was struck from the lists of the priesthood, and the great anathema pronounced against the three fathers. What course was now left for Vigilius to adopt? Within three months his Chalcedonian banishment had grown very irksome; and he therefore wrote to the patriarch of Constantinople, that in seeking to evade the will of his Majesty by flight, the evil spirit had held "possession of him; but now, after maturer study, he had grown but too certain that Theodore of Mopsveste and his two associates were utter heretics; and he therefore held himself ready to damn them to the lowest depths of hell, and all others who might share their views." Such an admission was highly welcome at Constantinople. Still, the fugitive

was not at once to enjoy imperial favour: he was obliged to draw up a long statement, declaring the invalidity of all he had formerly said, thought or done, in support of the said Theodore of Mopsveste, Theodoret of Cyrus, and Ilas of Edessa. Only after this solemn and public recantation was he allowed to return from exile, and reinstated in the Roman see. But he was fated never to enjoy his restored dignity: he died on his journey back; and thus all his foresworn promises and recantations proved of no avail.

John XXII. was guilty of no less flagrant contradiction to his predecessor Nicholas IV. than Vigilius with himself. Nicholas IV. had constituted the poverty of Christ an article of Faith; John XXII., however, declared such a dogma to be heretical and blasphemous. Then a doctrine propounded by John: that the Holy Virgin, apostles and saints, would not enter heaven until after the day of judgment, has been denounced by those who have since sat on St. Peter's chair; "For if it were so, how could they (the Virgin, apostles, &c., and saints) intercede for us or obtain the release of a poor soul from purgatory?" The pope's declaration excited strong opposition, especially from the Paris theologians, so that under their influence King Phillip of France informed this "Infallibility" at Avignon, he should be seized and delivered to the flames as a heretic, unless he immediately recanted. The pope, who felt no longing for the palm of martyrdom, at once expressed his readiness to retract all his offensive doctrines, and declare them heterodox.

Even in modern times the popes have sufficiently

often fallen into reciprocal contradiction. Clement VIII. (1592-1605) was thus at variance with Sixtus V. (1585-1590): the latter had directed the famous Latin translation of the Bible, known as the "Vulgate," to be made, and after inspecting it page by page, declared it the "only, true, just, and orthodox" rendering of the original text. Clement VIII. had the work notwithstanding revised, and caused such very important emendations to be made, that the new edition was in many places seriously discordant with the earlier one. A still more interesting example of the farcical character of this pretended infallibility, was afforded by Urban VIII. (1623-1644), in his controversy with the famous mathematician, Galileo, who, both in his capacity as professor of the university of Pisa, and by his numerous published writings, had supported and explained the solar system propounded by Copernicus, in which the sun was recognised as a fixed star, round which the earth performs its revolutions.

Paul V. considered such a theory very questionable, and summoned a Congregation of cardinals to investigate the new theory. The cardinals devoutly obeyed the requisition, and certified from the plenitude of their wisdom, that the earth did not revolve round the sun, nor was it of a spherical form; therefore pronounced the Copernican theory heretical, and in opposition to the scriptures. Galileo was summoned before the pope (this occurred in 1615), but passed the ordeal unscathed, thanks to the all-powerful advocacy of his great patron, Cosmo, duke of Florence; though obliged to promise that for the future he would neither by his lips

nor pen endeavour to disseminate the "blasphemous system," but spend the rest of his days in silent retirement. For sixteen years Galileo made no sign; then he could endure this inactivity no longer, and wrote his famous dialogue on the "Copernican and Ptolemaic Systems," which appeared in 1632, and at once excited the great attention. Galileo imagined the truth must at length prevail over the old leaven, even though it were not in accord with the teaching of the church; he trusted, moreover, to the friendship the new pope, Urban VIII. had, when a cardinal, always shown him. In the latter reliance he was cruelly deceived. Urban, on the appearance of the "Dialogue," at once summoned a congregation of cardinals to investigate the book, and determine if it were in agreement with the doctrines of Christianity. The result of this investigation might easily have been foreseen; the cardinals were neither mathematicians nor astronomers, but men as narrow-minded as they were bigoted.

Galileo's book was condemned as heretical, and the author cited to appear in Rome before the pope, in the winter of the year 1633. What choice was left the poor philosopher now his potent friend and protector, Cosmo, was no more; and, moreover, the government of Florence had fallen into the feeble hands of Duke Fernando II. He felt he had no alternative but obedience; he declared his willingness to submit to the will of His Holiness; and Urban, despite their former friendship, consigned him to prison until sentence was pronounced. The sentence, indeed, had long to be awaited; but the cardinals finally came to a decision, and on the 20th of

June, 1633, in accordance with it, Galileo on his knees, with his hand on the Evangelists, was to forswear the truths he had demonstrated, or prepare for death at the stake.

Galileo was then seventy years of age, and he consented to forswear the truths he had demonstrated; but as he rose from his knees, despite himself, stamped indignantly on the ground with his foot, and cried: "E pur si muove" (it moveth none the less). For this he was immediately transferred to the dungeons of the Inquisition at Rome, and for three years allowed no food but bread and water, no occupation but the compulsory duty of recounting a rosary nine times each day, and each day re-reading the seven penitential psalms of David. So was the great thinker, Galileo, employed by the head of the church. Late in 1637 he was liberated, but placed under the strict supervision of the bishop of Siena, who was charged to watch that the penitent relapsed not into his former errors.

Not until the nineteenth century, during the pontificate of Pius VII., did Rome finally accept the Copernican system, suppressed, until then, under penalty of excommunication. We may cite one other characteristic illustration of papal infallibility. The same Urban VIII., of whom we have before spoken, decreed that no one, whether priest or layman, should chew, smoke, or inhale tobacco by the nostrils in church; whilst Innocent XII. threatened the great anathema against any person who, in defiance of this prohibition, dared use snuff in St. Peter's. Benedict XII., who succeeded to the apostolic chair in 1724, was a great snuff amateur,

and found it necessary to reverse all these ordinances, and forthwith accorded the faithful, "without prejudice to their eternal welfare," full permission to indulge in a pinch, even during the celebration of divine service. Punctum satis!

More marvellous in its working than even papal infallibility is the infallibility of the papal elections; and those who can seriously contemplate each pope's nomination as the result of an inspiration from the Holy Ghost need a faith more than sufficient for the removal of mountains. In what manner these elections were effected, the reader may have seen, at least, in a few particulars in an earlier page; and the earthly influence predominant will have been sufficiently patent even in them. To fittingly crown our sketch of papal infallibility, we would adduce a few examples, where the Holy Spirit seems but too evidently to have been replaced by a spirit of quite other than celestial attributes. After the bishops of Rome became rich and powerful, and by the conversion of the emperors, their episcopal See an object of general ambition to those of the priesthood whose hearts were set on the pomps and vanities of the world, it happened that upon the death of Bishop Liberius, two pious men—Damasus and Usicinus, the former a presbyter, the latter a deacon—contested the honour of sitting on St. Peter's chair. Each had his partisans among the lower classes of Rome, and thus both, though in different churches, were simultaneously ordained to the coveted office. Two bishops for one see was contrary to all precedent; and daily contests between the followers of each arose, ending often in

bloodshed; but for whom the ultimate triumph was reserved seemed long uncertain, so equally in a numerical point were their followers matched, whilst the Exarch (the Emperor Valentinian resided at Constantinople) declined to decide between them. At length Damasus offered a very large bribe to the imperial Alter ego, when the latter summarily commanded Usicinus and his chief partisans to quit Rome or prepare for captivity. Usicinus took sanctuary in a church, believing the Exarch would not dare violate the sacred precincts; and, indeed, he then hesitated to carry out the decree of banishment. But so much the more resolved was Damasus, who, collecting his adherents, armed them with swords or clubs, as the case might be, stormed the church where his opponent lay, and immediately set fire to it on all sides. Usicinus and one hundred and thirty-seven of his followers were killed in the tumult; and Damasus effectually rid himself of his rival, and ruled, thenceforth, without opposition. Though he had killed that rival by his own hand, he was subsequently deemed worthy the honours of canonization. Circumstances greatly similar in character followed the death of John I. (526). Though three candidates now disputed the throne, and for more than a hundred days, the streets of Rome were daily the scene of sanguinary encounters. At length the Longobard king Dieteric appeared before the walls of the eternal city, appointed his candidate, Felix IV., bishop, and threatened to put every one to the sword who should dispute his title. Peace was thus established, at least, for a few years; but scarcely had Felix died, *anno* 530,

than Rome was split into two factions once more, headed, the one by a certain Bonifacius, the other by Dioscurus, both bishops. Both employed large sums of money in securing new partisans, and hesitated not to melt down, sell, or otherwise appropriate, the silver ornaments in the churches of their respective dioceses, so they might be well rewarded. For twenty-eight days, the victory remained uncertain; then Boniface succeeded in removing Dioscurus, and thus destroyed the central point of the opposition, and found himself sole master of the field. He employed his triumph in banning his murdered rival to the lowest depths of hell, causing the bull for that effect to be affixed to every church door. On his death, the ill-starred Dioscurus came again into favour, for the next pontiff, Agapet I., declared the anathema against him had proceeded from personal rancour, pronounced his absolution, and caused Boniface's bull of excommunication to be publicly burned in St. Peter's Church.

Scenes of still worse violence followed the decease of Paul I. (767). Scarcely had Duke Toto of Negi, the head of a powerful patrician family of Rome, learned that the holy father was at the point of death, than arming his friends and retainers, he took forcible possession of St. Peter's, and, at the moment Paul breathed his last, caused his own brother Constantine to be proclaimed bishop. The manœuvre succeeded perfectly; and Constantine, thus made successor of St. Peter, mounted the papal throne. Many of the Roman nobles and a great part of the higher clergy were but ill-pleased with such a nomination, and applied to the Longobard king, then at Pavia, for help to get rid

of the usurper. The king received the application favourably, and furnished a considerable body of troops, which at once joined the malcontents. The allies entered Rome, and called the population to arms; but Duke Toto was fully prepared, and offered such determined resistance that the Longobards soon took flight. Toto gave chase, but was stabbed in the back by two of his Roman foes, and expired where he fell. Then followed a period of fearful anarchy, when no man knew in whom to recognise the chief authority. This political disorder was employed by a monk of the St. Vitus' monastery, who enjoyed great influence over the lower classes, to get a certain member of his own fraternity, named Philip, renowned for peculiar sanctity, suddenly made pope, and through whom he might hope to govern. This monk, therefore, sallied into the streets one day, shouting, "Viva il Papa Filippo; Saint Peter himself hath chosen him!" and thousands of the mob at once re-echoed the cry. Philip, who knew nothing of the scheme in progress, hesitated for some time to accept the offered dignity; but the people finally carried him forcibly away on their shoulders to St. Peter's, and did not leave him until he had been anointed bishop. The new pope submitted to his destiny with a good grace, bestowed the pontifical benediction on the assembled multitude, and invited all the notabilities of the city, especially the higher dignitaries of the Church, to a magnificent banquet in the evening, to, in some degree, procure the necessary recognition of his rather irregular election; but few of the prelates or higher patricians appeared, however,—an evil augury for the monk Philip. He might too well

conclude he would not be left in peaceable possession of the function so unexpectedly imposed on him. As the adherents of the murdered Duke of Negi were morally incapable, after the death of their leader, to avail themselves of the victory they had obtained over the Longobards, the Roman nobles who had sent for the latter succeeded in inspiring their allies with fresh courage, and, before morning, even brought them back into the city. They then seized the castle of St. Angelo and the monk Philip, who, indeed, offered no resistance, suppressing at the same time, a revolt attempted too late by Constantine, the brother of the murdered Duke Toto. A new papal election was necessarily appointed, and naturally no name could issue from the urn but that of the candidate long designated by the victorious faction: —Stephanus III. The new pope was not content, however, with the quiet enjoyment of this victory over his two rivals until he had wreaked his revenge for their having dared to enter the lists against him. Philip atoned for the brief glory of a twenty-four hours pontificate by a cruel beating with rods, and life-long imprisonment, with no food but bread and water. The monk with whom his election had originated was still more mercilessly treated. By command of Pope Stephanus, the wretched man's tongue was torn out, and he was thrown, bound hand and foot, into a drain, and there left to bleed to death. Constantine was a yet greater sufferer; after his eyes had been scooped out, he was placed on horseback, with his face to the animal's tail, and so paraded through the streets of Rome, until a good Samaritan mercifully ended his pain by a well-directed sword-

thrust; he had already grown delirious from agony and loss of blood. Constantine's adherents were exposed to no less barbarity; all whom the victor secured were given over to frightful tortures, and finally put to death.

The contest on the election of Benedict III. (855) with the rival candidate, Anastasius, was not marked by such gross cruelties, but no trace of the working of the Holy Spirit is to be traced in its incidents. So soon, indeed, as Benedict III. had been chosen by the then dominant party at Rome, an intimation of his elevation was despatched to the Emperor Lothair, then in Germany, in order to obtain the customary imperial ratification. Lothair appointed two commissioners to investigate the affair, and they at once set out with a train of well-armed followers. On approaching the city, the commissioners were met by the priest Anastasius, a member of a very wealthy and ancient Roman patrician family; he had intrigued for the tiara during the pontificate of Leo IV., and now, partly by bribes, partly by flattery, induced the German plenipotentiaries to promise they would not recognise the validity of the new pope's election. Anastasius then marched with a body of armed followers to the Lateran, seized the person of his rival, tore from him the papal insignia, and, after cruel maltreatment, cast him finally into a prison, and caused himself to be proclaimed pope. His pontificate was of very brief duration, for scarcely had the imperial commissioners left again on their homeward journey, than the party of the captive Benedict, numerically much stronger than that of Anastasius, raised the standard of

revolt, drove the latter beyond the gates, and reinstated his late prisoner on the throne.

The popes of those days were, indeed, not elected, but raised (with or without violence) to the episcopal seat; the Divine influence had assuredly no part in the arrangement. This is still more strikingly exemplified in the ensuing period, when church government fell into female hands; a period the reader will find sketched in another part of this work, and when the counts of Tusculum made, in fact, the tiara hereditary in their family for upwards of one hundred and fifty years. It were mere madness to profess that the least spark of religion, the least idea of any Christian aim, had aught to do with their bestowal of the apostolic throne. The popes of that age were but the tools of the governing faction in Rome; those who, from time to time, owed their elevation to the Byzantine emperors, the great opponents of the Tusculum and Italian factions, owed it to quite temporal and human interests; and during the ensuing three hundred years we shall find no other influence in the choice of St. Peter's successor;* the triumph of a political party was the sole object sought, whether that

* Perhaps we may here not inappropriately remind the reader of an episode in which Gregory V., the imperialist pope, bore chief part. His rival, John XVII., nominated by the Tusculum party, had fallen into his hands on the reconquest of Rome, anno 998, by the Emperor Otho III., and Gregory immediately ordered his eyes and tongue to be torn out, his nose and ears cut off, and, when thus mutilated, to be placed backwards on an ass, with the animal's tail in his hands, and so led through the city, before being thrust into a dungeon and left to die of want. So acted the pontiff of imperial choice; but his brutality need not excite our wonder, for those raised by Italian influence exhibited no less barbarity to the rivals who fell into their power.

party were Italian, German, French, or Spanish. What other objects than those of worldly ambition lay in the long wars of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, when opposing popes reciprocally cursed and excommunicated each other? Indeed, it would require an impossible simplicity to believe such wars waged in the service of Heaven or religion.

A few examples will best illustrate this. The Emperor Henry V. appointed Pope Clement III. in opposition to the all-engrossing Gregory VII., and for many years the two popes held possession of St. Peter's chair by turns; at length, on the death of Gregory, Clement III. obtained possession of the Vatican and St. Peter's, and hoped thenceforth to be left in undisturbed possession. But he was greatly self-deceived, for the cardinals of the Italian faction, though unable to assemble in Rome, chose a successor to Gregory VII., anno 1086, in the person of Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, who took the name of Victor III., and called on his faithful friends, the Normans of southern Italy, to expel his rival from Rome. The expedition failed, and Desiderius returned in a week to his monastery once more. Yet very shortly afterwards the too-famous Countess Matilda of Tuscany advanced against Rome with a considerable army, forced Clement III. to flight, and re-established Victor in his stead. Scarcely, however, had her troops withdrawn, than the Clementinists made themselves master of St. Peter's, and it was Victor's turn to quit the field. Thus for several years the government was alternately seized by one pope or the other, and the disorder resulting only closed with their lives. The question, which of the

two was the one sole legitimate pope, was still left for the church to solve. Each had denounced the other as a "ravening wolf," a "forerunner of antichrist," &c., &c. Anathema and ban had been mutually exchanged; but which anathema was the valid one; which of the two pontiffs personified church Infallibility? The same question presented itself on the death of Clement III., when his party elected a successor in Sylvester VI., whilst that represented by the Roman aristocracy placed Paschalis II. (1099) on the papal throne. Both rivals banned and anathematised each other to their heart's content, but without showing which of the two, however, was "Infallible." The Catholic world declares for Paschalis, and, possibly, with justice, for he certainly outlived Sylvester, and even enjoyed the satisfaction of disinterring the corpse of his rival, and throwing it into the Tiber.

On the death of Paschalis II., the same scandals were renewed. The Frangipani and Caetani, both powerful patrician families, fell into fierce strife on their respective claims to the appointment of a new pontiff. The majority of the cardinals were of the Caetano faction, and elected a pope who took the title of Gelasius II.; but whilst they were still in conclave, Cencio, the chief of the Frangipani, broke into their midst, seized the new-made Holiness by the girdle, beat him until he was bathed in blood, and then had him dragged away to a dungeon. The assembled cardinals fared no better: they were all brutally maltreated, and left for dead on the floor of the hall. Then Cencio's party (the so-called "German faction,") appointed one of their body to the

throne thus vacated, and the new pontiff assumed the name of Gregory VIII. But he was not left a moment's peace for the enjoyment of his honours; the followers of Gelasius excited an insurrection, brought forth their pope from his place of confinement, and drove Gregory VIII. from out the sacred city. The fugitive pontiff appealed to the great Emperor Henry V., who responded by marching into Italy at the head of an army, and forced Gelasius to take refuge in France, the final resource of nearly every distressed pope. But scarcely had the emperor recrossed the Alps, than Gelasius returned again, and even contrived to introduce himself into Rome, to learn what were the probabilities for his recovery of the pontifical honours. He remained for some time in concealment, but was finally persuaded to show himself publicly to the people. One morning, therefore, he entered the church of St. Lorenzo, in full pontificals, and commenced the celebration of High Mass. Within a few instants, news of the fact were carried to Gregory VIII., who at once hurried, at the head of a number of his followers, to the spot. There a struggle between the rival parties ensued, which was prolonged into the night, and only ended by the flight of Gelasius. But whether the victorious or the vanquished pope was the one true Infallibility, who shall say?

The cardinals who had accompanied the Italian pope to France, elected on his death (1119) Archbishop Guido of Vienne as his successor, under the name of Calixtus II.; and by great personal tact and Norman aid he was enabled to enter Rome in triumph (anno 1120). Calix-

tus secured the person of the rival pope, but the treatment he accorded him had little generosity in it. The unfortunate man was dressed in derision in a fresh-flayed sheep skin,—the dripping blood mocked the forfeited "purple,"—then set face backward on a mangy camel, and so led, to the sound of discordant trumpets, through the streets of Rome, and finally relegated on bread and water to life-long imprisonment in a monastery.

Some years later (1130) a disputed papal election again occurred: the Frangipani with the Corsi appointed Pope Innocent II.; the opposing faction chose Cardinal Pietro Leo, a scion of the wealthy house of Leoni, of Jewish origin, he assuming the name of Anaclet II. On the side of the latter was ranged the majority of the cardinals and King Roger of Naples, the German emperor Lothair supporting Innocent. Whilst the kaiser remained in Italy the Frangipani pope ruled supreme, denouncing at his ease his rival, Anaclet, as "a son of hell, who dared contest the kingdom of heaven with him (Christ's vicegerent)." Scarcely had the emperor turned his back on the eternal city than the "reconciled" offspring of Israel appeared with a Norman army before the gates, and Innocent was obliged to fly into France. He there remained until Anaclet's death, in 1138; then followed a revolution in his favour, and by the liberal expenditure of vast treasure he secured the adhesion of the chief partisans of his late rival, and their renunciation of the new pope they had appointed on Anaclet's death. Innocent II. was thenceforth left uncontested possessor of the tiara, and the undoubted re-

presentative of Infallibility, though Anaclet might as justly have claimed it; for, had he not held the chair of St. Peter from the year 1130 to 1138?

The election of Alexander III. in 1159 gave rise to very scandalous proceedings. The cardinals were so divided in opinion, that at the last moment of the election they split into new factions; one giving its suffrages to Alexander, the other to Victor III. The rival candidates, animated with even fiercer jealousy than their supporters, rushed at each other in their fury, when Victor snatched the purple mantle just placed on the shoulders of Alexander and threw it over his own. Alexander, in return, dashed his antagonist to the ground, and, assisted by some of the cardinals, dragged the mantle again from his grasp. The partisans of Victor forced their way at this moment into the church, where the conclave was assembled, and so alarmed the opposite party by their wild threats and curses, that Alexander, in alarm, was fain to take refuge in a neighbouring tower, where, however, he at once found himself besieged by the Victorians. His own supporters rose in their turn, and for two days the struggle was carried on in Rome with fire and sword. Finally, both popes quitted the city, and Alexander was ordained to "Infallibility" in the monastery at Nympha and Alexander in Forsa Abbey. Scarce was this done, than commenced the war of ban and excommunication. Victor denounced Alexander as the "offspring of Belial, the spawn of hell;" Alexander proclaimed Victor "a forerunner of antichrist." All Christendom was soon divided between the opposing camps: the one party recognising no higher manifestation of divinity than that embodied

in Alexander; the other, beholding in Victor their vice-God. At length, in the year 1164, Victor died; but the schism between the two parties was not, therefore, healed,—a successor was immediately chosen in his stead, under the title of Paschalis III. Once more anathema and ban were launched forth, and the Christian world (France and Germany especially) well nigh plunged in universal war to decide to which of the two pretenders the real infallibility appertained. However, on the death of Paschalis, an amicable arrangement was effected, and in 1178 Alexander made a triumphal entry into Rome. He remained there as sole head of the church until his death, in 1181; but it might be questioned if he was therefore more "Infallible" than either of his colleagues, Paschalis and Victor.

Such contests on papal legitimacy were of very frequent recurrence: but we need not weary the reader's patience with further details. We shall better conclude the present chapter with the curious enough story of a papal election, which, commencing in the veriest farce, unhappily closed but too tragically. When, in 1292, Nicholas IV. died, for the two succeeding years the cardinals could not determine on a successor to the tiara. Each wished to secure it for himself; and so intense were their mutual jealousies, that none would vote in favour of a colleague. The Romans at length growing weary of the scandal, threatened to abolish the Temporal power altogether, unless a new "Infallibility" were at once provided for its administration. Guido Montefeltro, the redoubtable Podestá of Pisa, had already seized a great part of the Romagna, and the loss of the

whole patrimonium Petri seemed imminent. Under these circumstances, the cardinals, after deliberating from the 4th of April, 1292, till the 5th of July, 1294, a period of twenty-six months, at length resolved on a candidate. As each one could not be simultaneously pope, they chose Pietro di Murrhone for the dignity, an old monk, who, as a "forest brother," lived in solitude in a retired spot some distance from Rome. It was only with great difficulty that Peter finally consented to the honours thrust on him; and as Pope Cœlestin V., never grew reconciled to his change of life. It was all too worldly, too redolent of courtly vanities, the circle in which he found himself placed thus suddenly. He felt strangely out of place amid all this riot and revelry. He commanded his cardinals to lead henceforth modest and retired lives, renounce their sumptuous households, sell their costly steeds, dismiss their great trains of servants, and send their mistresses into nunneries: in short, live decorously, simply, frugally, as the apostles of Jesus had lived.

He at once set the example; instead of a stud supplied with the finest horses, he kept but an humble ass, in imitation of Christ, who had entered Jerusalem upon an ass. In short, he did things such as had been unknown in Rome for centuries, and a deadly terror fell on the cardinals at these monstrous innovations. But when Cœlestin, to crown his proceedings, drew up certain severe regulations* for the conduct of future papal

* Gregory X., at a synod held at Lyons, in 1274, had drawn up the following regulations, so that the election of all future popes should be conducted in a more decorous and honourable manner:—"At the death

elections, they, like Lot's wife, were nigh to be petrified from the mere horror.

Only Cardinal Cajetan, a keen-witted, astute Spaniard, maintained his equanimity under the threatening aspects of the future, he even determined to employ the "absurdity of the pope" to his own advantage. Privately questioning his colleagues if they would give him their votes on condition he induced Cœlestin to resign, on receiving unnaimously the desired assurance, he secretly bored a hole through the wall of the pope's sleeping chamber, applied a speaking trumpet to it at midnight, and shouted: "Cœlestin, Cœlestin, lay down thy office, it is too great a burden for thee." This proceeding he repeated on several successive nights;

of a pope, all the cardinals (so he decreed) shall be locked into a hall (the conclave), and this hall shall be so arranged, that as many cells open from it as there are cardinals present, the cells having no other outlet than that from the said hall. The cardinals to be permitted one attendant each, but not more than one, and are in no instance authorised to leave the conclave until the papal election is finally settled; for which, moreover, a majority of two-thirds shall be required. If, after three days, no determination has been arrived at, each cardinal, during the ensuing fortnight, to receive but one *couvert*, and one bottle of wine, per diem; if this further interval passes without the desired result, the princes of the church to be put upon an allowance of bread and water, and this dietary continued until a pope has been chosen." Thus decreed Gregory X., who seems to have had less reliance in any inspiration of the Holy Ghost in the matter, than on the influence of prison diet. But the cardinals would not submit to such a severe ordinance, and the next pontiff, John XXI., was compelled to modify, or, rather, rescind it. So much the more disagreeably affected must their Eminences have felt when Cœlestin proposed to revive the Gregorian decree; even increasing its rigour, in several points, to expedite a decision. If such a scheme had been carried into effect, all chance of "canvassing and intriguing," of "bargaining and chaffering" for votes, would have been at an end.

and the pope, who was as superstitious as he was simple-hearted, naturally believed the words were uttered by a voice from heaven. He seriously reflected on the resignation of his dignity; which, indeed, had been nothing but a sore burden to him, and the cardinals were all ready to encourage this resolve, though up to that time a papal abdication was wholly unprecedented. The solemn act was at length performed on the 13th of December, 1294. Cœlestin, surrounded by the lord cardinals, divested himself of all the papal insignia, put on his old serge gown, and departed full of joy to his former hermitage—the first and only pope that ever willingly renounced his dignities.

Cardinal Cajetan failed not to remind his brethren of their promise, and he was actually elected to the apostolic throne, December 24th, 1294, though not without considerable opposition. But no sooner was his ambition satisfied, than he became possessed by the dread of Cœlestin's reappearance to claim the tiara, his renunciation of which was considered by many as invalid. The unsuspecting hermit was therefore seized, but contrived to get away from his captors, and made for the coast, hoping thus to reach Dalmatia by sea; he was, however, re-taken, and conveyed by command of Cardinal Cajetan, now Boniface VIII., to a secure place of imprisonment at Anagni. In vain the poor old man begged permission to return to his hermitage, in vain he proffered the most solemn oaths he would, and could never for an instant dream again of the papal dignities. Boniface refused all credence, believed such assertions pure hypocrisy, and to get rid of a possible rival, had

him transferred from Anagni to a miserable dungeon in the castle of Fumone (May the 19th, 1296); where, after suffering the deprivation of the barest necessaries of life, he at length died of a typhoid fever, produced by want of food.* His name was subsequently placed in the Roman calendar, in recognition of his sufferings, and good Catholics still keep the day of his death in pious remembrance.

* Cœlestin, or rather Pietro di Murrhone, was the founder of an anchorite fraternity, the Cœlestins, a branch of the Benedictine order. They wear white gowns, with black hoods, and lead a contemplative life. Many were professed hermits.

CHAPTER II.

PERIOD OF THE GREAT SCHISM.

We have already seen that the year 1377 brought back Pope Gregory XI. from Avignon to Rome, and made the chief city of Italy again the papal residence. At Avignon the popes had sank into the mere vassals of French royalty, and during the whole period of the so-called "captivity," none but Frenchmen had successively occupied the apostolic chair. It was a crying necessity that such a state of things should be changed, if the pope were not to become the mere tool of France; and therefore Gregory, though also a Frenchman by birth, bethought him of returning to Rome, then almost entirely emancipated from papal rule. "Long enough," says a famous ecclesiastical historian, "long enough had the papacy been in the leading strings of French policy, to destroy all belief in its divine character; it was now to recover once more, at least, the semblance of inspiration from the Holy Ghost in the elections of the popes!"

Gregory survived his return but one year. The whole city on his decease became the scene of the greatest excitement; the chief nobles, and the more influential of

the citizens, were alike convinced, that to keep the seat of government in Rome, it would be necessary in future to elect a Roman, or at least an Italian, to the apostolic throne. When this decision was communicated to the cardinals, they replied "they knew not what name the Holy Ghost might suggest to them in the approaching election;" but on immediately receiving the very significant rejoinder: "The Holy Ghost would on this occasion have no French pope," the lord cardinals saw plainly the necessity to which they must perforce submit.

On the 7th of April, 1378, sixteen princes of the churches shut themselves up in conclave; of this number eleven were of French (during the sojourn of the popes at Avignon, French cardinals had always formed two-thirds of the whole college), one Spanish, and four of Italian birth. Though the head men of the people had promised them full personal security, they might well take warning by the cry of "an Italian or death," shouted by a thousand voices on their way to the hall. The tumult in the city grew still more threatening, when the next day brought no decision. The alarm bells pealed from the church towers, the crowd gathered in a dense mass round the palace where the conclave sat, crying loudly, "a Roman, or at least an Italian;" finally bursting the doors of the sacred council chamber open, and threatening the princes of the church with instant death unless they came to a prompt decision. In vain the plebeian and patrician gonfalonieri endeavoured to restore order; their followers heeded no expostulations, and the cardinals were so terrified, that not only did they at once waive their personal differences, but really

designated an Italian, the archbishop of Bari, Bartolomeo Trignano. The new pope assumed the tiara as Urban VI., and the fact of his election produced a very frenzy of rejoicing in Rome: if not a Roman, he was yet an Italian.

Letters announcing the satisfactory result were despatched throughout Christendom, and from nowhere came the faintest protest against the election; even the cardinals who had remained in Avignon after the departure of Pope Gregory made no sign of dissatisfaction; they also formally recognised the new pontiff, and gracefully accepted various rich benefices at his hands. Within a short time, however, the French cardinals, still a large majority of the college, demanded Urban should remove his court to Avignon, where alone they considered life could be really enjoyed. Urban rejected the proposal, and sternly reproved those who tendered it for their attachment to worldly pleasures. Feeling he was indebted for his position not to them but to the people of Rome, he treated the cardinals with so much hauteur, they soon found a longer residence in the Christian capital unendurable. A mutual understanding was soon arrived at by the malcontents, and, under pretext of avoiding the excessive heat by a brief visit to the country, they, one after the other, quitted Rome in the beginning of May, 1578, and proceeded at once to an appointed rendezvous at Agnano, in the kingdom of Naples. They were there secure; the queen-regnant, Johanna, had been threatened with deposition by Urban soon after his elevation, unless she consented to a marriage with his illegitimate son Pignano; she was, there-

fore, the deadly foe of the "Italian" pope. One of the earliest acts of the cardinals assembled at Agnano was to formally demand Urban's resignation; he refused, and they then published a manifesto setting forth the circumstances of his election, to the great amusement of the world. They, at the same time, opened a correspondence with the five cardinals who had remained in Rome, and made them such flattering promises, that they, too, left, and hastened to Agnano. The pope now stood alone, but not an iota did this discourage him; he had, indeed, at once declared the sixteen recalcitrant cardinals deposed, and nominated a new sacred college, all the members of which were Romans. This was pouring oil upon the flames, and the conclave at Agnano replied to the Bull of deposition by proceeding to a new papal election, September 20, 1378, when Cardinal Robert of Geneva received the unanimous suffrages of his brethren. Once more there were two popes, both claiming to be sole legitimate pontiff, and sole embodiment of infallibility, though only one of the two could actually be Heaven's vicegerent. From this moment we may date the great schism, which was only closed after an existence of one-and-fifty years.

It was a strangely mad period that then followed, a period during which the whole Christian world divided into two great factions, the Clementine and Urbanite, mutually possessed with a hate, merciless, inextinguishable; a period when rival popes cursed and banned each other, each pursuing each with such fierce rancour, that those sacred shepherds of souls might with their flocks have been thought changed into ravening beasts

of prey by some terrible spell of sorcery. Clement's case seemed at first well nigh hopeless, for Urban had been formally recognised by all the princes of Christendom. Wenzel, the Emperor King of Germany, and Louis the Great of Hungary positively forbade his assumption of the papal insignia, but Johanna, Queen of Naples, from personal enmity to Urban, naturally espoused the cause of his opponent, and France could not hold back, for was it not in the interest of that kingdom to have a pope with French sympathies? Moreover, it might well be questioned if right was on Urban's side, for the Holy Ghost had assuredly taken no part in his election. In short, the schism soon obtained a very formidable character; France, Naples, Castile, Arragon, Navarre, and Scotland recognised Clement, whilst Germany, Upper Italy, Hungary, Poland, and Denmark took part with Urban. Both parties declared their chosen pope the only true one; and, for the proof of their argument, were ever ready with the logic of hard blows for every opponent. Clement, by the aid of Queen Johanna, had every suspected Urbanite priest in the kingdom of Naples burnt or hung; nor was Urban more magnanimous. Immediately on learning the election of his rival, he caused all "French sympathisers" in Rome,—men, women, and children, to be either drowned, hanged, or given to the flames. But the strife raged fiercest when an episcopal see fell vacant, on which Urbanites and Clementines considered they had a like claim. Both Infallibilities appointed their respective nominees, and there ensued not only the most sanguinary conflicts between the rival bishops and their partisans, but scenes

more scandalous than any the Christian world had witnessed. All social order was overthrown, and no man knew in his conscience on which side was right and truth, or which wrong and falsehood. Truth itself became a lie, perjury was travestied as truth. Did not Urban VI. excommunicate King Juan of Castile, and absolve his subjects from their allegiance, when the king espoused the cause of the French pope? He called on the people to rebel, under threat of excommunication; whilst Clement solemnly gave his benediction to the sovereign for his changed views, and assured him of the Eternal salvation secured by the blessed act.

As with King Juan so it was with all other Christian potentates: those who recognised one pope were denounced by the other as "children of perdition;" as "pestilent heretics; yea, as the most worthless and loathsome of men;" and throughout the world there was no Christian living who had not been put under eternal anathema either in the interests of one or the other Infallibility; whilst on passing from one camp to the other the convert was welcomed by his new colleagues as a man "peculiarly blessed by the Lord, a lost sheep brought into the fold, over whom the angels of heaven rejoiced; yea, a pattern unto all Christians." Verily, the time was a strange one, when men could thus bridge the space between Heaven and Hell with a single step.

Men hoped that with the death of one or other of the rival chiefs an end might be put to the church schism; but this was not to be. When Urban VI. died, on the 18th of October, 1389, amid general contempt and exe-

cration,* the cardinals in Rome elected, in November of the same year, their colleague Peter de Tomacelli, who ascended the contested throne as Boniface IX. But Charles VI. of France and the rival pope, Clement VII., were greatly interested in preventing this consummation; the schism might, at length, come to an end. On the other hand, the Italian party among the clergy feared that should Clement VII. be generally recognised, he would transfer his seat to Avignon, and they therefore resolved to maintain the schism. A pope such as this Boniface IX. the Christian world had never seen; under his auspices the apostolic court became a veritable "exchange and temple of usury." "No sin," writes a contemporary historian, "was so heavy but that it could find absolution on sufficient payment; no priest so infamous but that he could secure a bishopric if he would but give hard coin for it." The pope sold every office in his gift, and was still better pleased when he could sell them twice over. Whilst celebrating high mass he asked his secretary, that official chancing to enter, if he had procured more money; and on an unsatisfactory reply, broke into fierce imprecations. It was a scandalous state of things; but the Romans had this satisfaction, that the court at Avignon was scarcely, if at all, better, though there only the protegés of the

* The popular feeling was not without good justification; few popes had been guilty of greater iniquities. Not only did he openly shield his nephew Butillus, sentenced to death for violating a nun, but caused, in his own presence, six cardinals, accused of treasonable correspondence with Clement, to be tortured to death; and a number of priests who had spoken of him at a private meeting in disrespect, he had sewed up in sacks, their heads alone left exposed, and so thrown into the sea.

French king necessarily received all the higher preferments.

On the 16th of September, 1394, died Clement VII., and again an opportunity was offered by the recognition of Boniface to heal the schism; but the Avignon cardinals feeling no inclination for removal to Rome, at once assembled in conclave, and chose a new pope in the person of Peter de Luna, who assumed the tiara as Benedict XIII.; the reciprocal cursings recommenced, whilst every priest in Christendom devoutly espoused the cause of that pope from whom he might hope the better remuneration. The bitterness of the contest grew every day more intense, until all thinking men asked themselves if it would not, perhaps, be very possible to dispense altogether with a pope; for the dual papacy, with its re-echoing anathemas, was the most cogent argument that the whole institution was founded on mere "Spiegel Fechterei" (sham and delusion).

The higher clergy took alarm at these indications of public opinion, and bethought themselves seriously of some means for putting an end to the strife. Though they took the peace of the church not very deeply to heart, they trembled lest, if the papacy fell, they might, too, share its ruin. The great hierarchs of Rome are so closely bound up with the papacy, that its overthrow would inevitably involve their own ruin. No marvel, then, that bishops, archbishops, and cardinals, felt at last that it behoved them to preserve the unity of the church at any sacrifice, and endeavoured by their ambassadors, sent alternately from one pope to the other, to induce their Holinesses to bend to the interests of

that unity. Complete failure, however, attended their efforts. The pope at Rome cast the messengers of peace into prison, when he spared them the gibbet; the pope at Avignon caused those accredited to his court to be thrown out of window. Nor were these proceedings illogical; each pope was, or held himself to be, sole true vicegerent of Heaven, and therefore religiously bound to maintain his sacred rights, though the whole world were rent asunder in the effort. The temporal sovereigns at length grew impatient at this state of things, Charles VI. of France especially, for Benedict XIII., whilst still a cardinal, had assured the French monarch he was not opposed to the reunion of the church, so Charles determined to use the strong hand against His Holiness, and sent Marshal Boucicault to Avignon at the head of an army to effectually remind the stiff-necked pontiff of his former declaration. The marshal seized the city, besieged the pope in his well-fortified castle, and finally obliged him to capitulate. Benedict then yielded, and promised to lay down his crown if his rival would "also abdicate." The condition did not appear unreasonable, and an embassy was forthwith despatched to Rome to obtain the requisite assurance from Boniface. He replied there was but one way to restore the unity of the church—"the abdication of the unrightful pope;" but as he, the Roman, was the true head of the church, the abdication must be from "Avignon." Benedict's ambassadors were greatly incensed at this answer, declared the claims of the pontiff they represented far more legitimate than those of the Italian, for he had neither gained his position by simony,

nor disgraced it by usuriousness; still they had no course left them than to shake the dust from their feet and depart, without any hope of effecting a mutual understanding between the opposing factions.

Nor did even the decease of Boniface, which followed the 29th September, 1404, bring any better promise of the wished-for consummation. The Roman conclave hastened to appoint Cardinal Guzman to the apostolic chair; and he, as Innocent VII., at once broke off all negociations with the French king, and turned a deaf ear to every proposal for restoring harmony to the Church (Innocent VII. died within eighteen months); but Cardinal Corrario, who assumed the tiara as Gregory XII., adopted his policy, and "whole volumes might be filled if all the tricks and artifices, all the falsehoods and meannesses, were recounted by which the new pope endeavoured to prevent reunion of the Church and befool the world."* But the world had wearied of these iniquities; and from every side arose the same demand,—Let the popes make peace with each other, or resign. The princes of Europe finally brought things so far that an interview was arranged between the rival popes, attended by their respective colleges of cardinals, at the town of Saona, whose neutrality had been guaranteed by the Genoese. Both Gregory and Benedict took solemn oath to procure the unification of the Church at the proposed meeting. Benedict XIII. actually went with his cardinals, though only when well assured his rival would not appear. Gregory XII. ex-

* So writes the devoted Romanist, Theodore of Niem, in his celebrated work, "Die Schismate Ecclesiæ."

hibited singular tardiness,—occupied full six months in reaching Lucca, where he again made a long delay. Indeed, he had resolved the meeting should never take place, and only waited for a plausible excuse for evading it altogether. On one occasion he could not enter Saona, as his rival had planned to assassinate him there; on another, he fell into conflict with his cardinals, accusing them of an intention to betray him. The greater number growing indignant at the charge left him, proceeded to Pisa (May 1408), and summoned then what they were pleased to call an Œcumenical Council. The anarchy grew wilder than before; Gregory excommunicated his cardinals; they rejoined by denouncing him as a "heretic and schismatic;" a "forerunner of Antichrist." All Italy was rent asunder by the two factions, though this profited nothing to the Avignon pope,—indeed he suffered more than Gregory from the conflict. After delaying some length of time at Saona, he returned to Avignon with his cardinals, and triumphantly declared to the world "that it must now be evident unto all men that his opponent, who had not dared keep his promise at Saona, was assuredly an usurper, whilst the papal dignity would justly appertain to him,—Benedict,—alone.

The King of France, to whom Benedict had vowed never again to use such language, was greatly incensed thereat, and directed Marshal Boucicault to seize the Holy Father once more; nothing therefore remained for the latter but speedy flight. He made his way into Arragon, and from thence fulminated an interdict against

the monarch and people of France. It was dated from Perpignan, March, 1409, but assuredly wrought not the effect intended. The majority of the French people laughed at, and the king ordered the document to be burnt publicly in the streets of Paris.* Fresh misfortunes befell Benedict immediately after this last cruel disappointment; the French cardinals, at the command of Charles VI., abandoned him, and returned to France, whilst of all the countries that had once acknowledged his supremacy, none now remained faithful but Castile, and Arragon and Navarre.

But if Benedict had to buffet desperately with the waves that threatened every movement to engulph him, Gregory's struggle was a still harder one. When forsaken by his cardinals, or the majority of the college, the Romans revolted against him, and he took flight to Venice, hoping to defy his enemies from thence with ban and anathema. But the Venetians at once refused to recognise his pretensions, and he was obliged to escape to his only remaining ally, King Ladislas of Naples, and but narrowly avoided capture by the Patriarch of Aquilea. Benedict XIII. lost more ground by quarrelling with his cardinals than Gregory XII. in breaking with the French monarch. Still, despite these reverses, each continued to entitle himself, in all briefs and bulls,

* The legates charged with publishing the papal bull of anathema were thrown into prison by Charles, and there kept until their death. During the burning of the document, they stood in a pillory as spectators of the scene, dressed in penitential sackcloth, each with a placard hanging round his neck, declaring in great letters, "their master a villanous deceiver."

the one only true pope, and denounced his rival as the "offscouring of hell."

But one way seemed to offer any escape from this anarchy. Since neither of the two popes would abdicate, then both must be deposed, and a new, true pope elected in their stead. King Charles VI. issued a decree forbidding any of his subjects, under pain of his high displeasure, from yielding obedience to either Benedict or Gregory, whilst he invited the cardinals to summon an Œcumenical Council for the final settlement of the papal question. The French cardinals who had abandoned Benedict XIII., and the Italian whom Gregory XII. had offended, actually assembled at Livorno in 1408, but it was long ere they consented to meet the king's demand. They had, from of old, exercised the right of appointing each new pope whenever a vacancy occurred, and were they now to resign this prerogative to a Council? The requisition was a very hard one; but as no other means of allaying the strife offered, they finally consented, and summoned an Œcumenical Synod in due form, to meet at Pisa in the following year, 1409. The greater number of the temporal princes, and a majority of the clergy throughout France, Germany, and Italy (Naples excepted), were fully in favour of this policy.

The council was thus largely attended, and the popes duly summoned to appear before it, and set forth their claims to the papal throne. But both alike not only refused obedience, but denounced the citation as unjust and illegal, and even proceeded to call separate councils

of their own; Gregory XII. to hold his at Ravenna, Benedict XIII. another at Perpignan.*

These rival councils did but aggravate the universal discord, and the assembled metropolitans, bishops, and learned doctors of theology at Pisa, felt there was no course practicable but to declare Gregory and Benedict perjured heretics and schismatics, and solemnly depose both. Judgment to this effect was passed on the 5th of June, 1409, and at the same time a command laid on all Christians to give no aid or countenance to either of the deposed pontiffs, under pain of eternal damnation. The cardinals then proceeded to a new election, and Cardinal Petrus of Candia, who adopted the name of Alexander V., and received the majority of their votes.

The council, with the greater part of Christendom, hoped an end was at length made of the schism; but the hope unhappily proved delusory; not only did Gregory and Benedict refuse to abdicate, both (the one at Naples, the other in Spain) persisted in all their former claims and assumptions. Thus, by Alexander's election there were three popes created instead of two; and not three popes merely, but three antagonistic churches; who, though quite undistinguished by doctrines or ob-

* The council summoned by Gregory never actually met, though that called by Benedict at Perpignan did so in all solemnity. The latter was attended not only by the prelates of Castile and Arragon, but by many from Navarre, Savoy, and certain provinces of France. Angry discussions soon ensued among their graces, especially with those from the two latter countries, who demanded that Benedict should submit to the Œcumenical Synod at Pisa, and on his refusal immediately withdrew, leaving His Holiness and the Spanish bishops to deliberate alone.

servances, yet mutually anathematised each other to the lowest depths of hell. The confusion, instead of being ameliorated, grew worse than before; there was, too, no hope either of the three would resign, whilst at the death of one of the number a successor would be immediately appointed, and the papal triad again restored. The reality of this danger was, indeed, exemplified at the death of Alexander, in 1410. Scarcely had the pope breathed his last, than the cardinals met in conclave, and appointed as his successor, Balthazar Cossa, (who assumed the tiara as John XXIII., so that the sacred triumvirate was in no danger of surceasing. The excommunications hurled by each "Infallibility" against the other two, led to no result; when one had thought to have pronounced the most terrible anathema conceivable, the second invented a curse still more terrible, whilst the third would startle the world with one deadlier still. In short, there seemed no possibility of restoring the unity of the papacy again.

Balthazar Cossa, however, or rather, John XXIII. (we have already seen something of this monster in an earlier page) contrived such a possibility, however. At the commencement of his pontificate, he hurled his anathemas not only against the other two popes, but against all the countries that recognised them, and the princes whose protection they enjoyed; he laid an interdict on Ladislas of Naples, and enjoined all the bishops in his kingdom, to recite the curse on every Sunday and saint day, with burning torches and tolling bells. He even called on Christendom to join in a crusade against the offending monarch, promising all taking

part in the holy war, not only plenary absolution, but admission to heaven, without any delay in purgatory. Yet even these inducements proved of no effect. Ladislas remained in possession of his throne as before.

It then occurred to Balthazar Cossa to direct his attack from another quarter; a quarter, too, in which most men are fallible. He proposed, in the first place, to present his Majesty with 200,000 ducats—an enormous sum in those days; and secondly, invest him with the patronage of several very wealthy benefices, in consideration of Ladislas recognising him (John XXIII.) as pope, in place of Gregory XII. Such arguments could not be resisted by the monarch, who immediately became convinced that not Gregory, but John, was the true Pontifex Maximus; and therefore caused proclamation to be made throughout the kingdom, that under heavy penalties he alone should be so recognised; "for after careful investigation, the infallibility of the said pope, John XXIII., had been made clear beyond all doubt." The people obeyed; they were well schooled to obedience, and, moreover, had no respect for the pope they were made to renounce, who thus at one blow lost his chief reliance in Italy. Indeed, Gregory, to avoid being seized by his late ally, and delivered over to Benedict, was now forced to seek safety in flight. He made his way in secret to his friend, Carlo Malatesta, at Rimini, and thence to Dalmatia, where he was beyond the reach of Pope John. But the latter had not less the satisfaction of seeing all Italy united under his crozier, and the potency of his infallibility rendered so much the greater.

John naturally attempted the same tactics with the sovereigns of Castile and Arragon, who were still attached to the cause of Pope Benedict XIII.; but, unlike King Ladislas, they proved obdurate: persisting in the demand for an Œcumenical Council, as the only practicable means for ending this insane schism. The other European kings and rulers adopted the like policy, Kaiser Sigismund, of Germany, the most emphatically; for, though the council of Pisa had had so unsatisfactory a result, yet no better alternative offered. At such a crisis, it would assuredly not be sufficient to merely declare the three existing popes deposed, and then elect a fourth; but before proceeding to a new election, it was requisite to compel their abdication, and carry out such thorough reforms in the church, that the like state of confusion would be impossible for the future. So thought princes and people; even a great part of the clergy joined in the cry for a reforming council. But John XXIII., in terror of the fate preparing for him, resisted the demand with his whole power and influence, and not until having quarrelled with king Ladislas,* the latter marched with an army against Rome, and obliged His Holiness to take refuge with the Emperor Sigismund, did he consent to the Œcumenical Council

* The good understanding between John XXIII. and the king of Naples had been of short duration; the pope failed in his promises, and Ladislas in his anger marched against Rome, resolved on seizing and hanging the offender without more ado. But John and his cardinals contrived to escape in time, though the royal vengeance was gratified by putting the whole garrison, and several bishops in St. Angelo, to the sword, and giving all the churches in the city over to the soldiers to plunder. Pope John had, indeed, good cause to tremble.

being summoned, which a year later (1414) sat at Constance.

Once more a General Synod of the church was assembled, which, claiming the right to sit in judgment on the Head of the Church, cited the three popes to appear before it. Neither Gregory nor Benedict appeared in person, though they sent ambassadors to represent their interests. John, however, anticipating thus to secure his own recognition and the defeat of his rivals, attended in all docility, but his hopes were soon all overthrown; for not only was it almost immediately resolved that the unity of the church would be best served by the abdication of all three popes, but further, essentially necessary for the restoration of the papacy to the respect of the world, that a man so wholly unworthy as this Balthazar Cossa should at once be removed from St. Peter's chair. A closer investigation of his life was commenced; and he, in terror of the result, and hoping to escape inevitable shame, suddenly declared his willingness to resign,—so soon as Gregory and Benedict did so too. He was not in earnest, however, in this proposal, as we see by the fact that leaving Constance on the 21st of March, 1416, in the disguise of a palfrenier, he hastened to place himself under the protection of Duke Frederick of Tyrol. He then wrote to the Emperor Sigismund, at the same time commanding all bishops and church dignitaries attached to his cause to quit the council and join him without delay. He placed his reliance on the division he thus hoped to excite among the reverend fathers, and so secure a chance of retaining his own dignity,—at the worst, resolving to go to

Avignon and thus preserve a part at least of the dominions which had once owned his temporal sceptre. Yet all was in vain: about a hundred cardinals and bishops* followed the fugitive pope; but on finding the majority of their brethren did not allow his departure to affect their proceedings, and as the emperor had outlawed Duke Frederick of Tyrol, they might too well fear for their own safety and anticipate being seized and thrown into prison, they, therefore, resolved to secure their own peace by betraying John, and at once made their way back to Constance, where they were received with rejoicings, as over sinners brought to repentance. John found himself completely abandoned, but he still refused to obey the requisitions of the council in submitting himself into its hands. For in this case he must have witnessed his own shame; the investigations into his past life were now to be mercilessly brought to light.

He gained no advantage, however, by resistance; for the council not only sentenced him on the 29th of May, 1414, to deposition and imprisonment for life in a monastery, but the elector of Brandenburg, with whom he had sought refuge, by the emperor's command, seized and consigned him to durance as though he had been a vulgar malefactor.†

* So great was the assemblage, that the departure of a hundred prelates made no perceptible hiatus in it. There were present in all at the council 4000 of the lower clergy, 600 doctors of theology and abbots, 91 bishops, 20 archbishops, 7 patriarchs, 25 cardinals, 1 pope, 140 counts, 26 princes, and an emperor. Necessary recreations were not wanting for these reverend fathers and great lords: seven hundred dames, light o' love, were there, besides the established "female friends" and nieces of the sacerdotal households.

† Pope John XXIII.'s subsequent fate has been related, p. 327, vol. i.

"One" of the three popes was thus happily disposed of. It was now only necessary to deal as effectually with the two others; and negociations were at once opened with their ambassadors. Malatesta, Gregory's representative, proved the more tractable: his master had fled to Dalmatia, as we have seen, and could exercise his spiritual sway there over a very narrow territory. Such a pontificate, with its limited revenues, was indeed worth very little. Gregory had given his plenipotentiary no other instructions than "to arrange an abdication on the best terms circumstances allowed." And this policy proved the wisest. The council presented the abdicating pope with a very considerable sum of money, invested him with the highly-lucrative office of papal legate to Ancona, and the chief seat in the College of Cardinals. Gregory had the good fortune to enjoy his new dignities for full two years,—until his death, in his eighty-ninth year. The "second" pope was now also provided for; and Benedict XIII. alone remained. But Benedict resisted with the courage of despair—turned a deaf ear to offers of the richest preferments the council would have pressed on him as the reward of submission. "His sacred functions admitted no abdication; and now his rivals were removed, to restore the unity of the church, nothing more was needed than the general recognition of him,—Benedict."

By this answer he remained steadfast, despite every means employed by his adversaries; even threatening all those who longer denied his infallibility with the direst spiritual penalties as blasphemous heretics. Kaiser Sigismund then went in person to Spain, and invited

their majesties of Arragon, Castile, and Navarre, to visit Perpignan, where Benedict resided, and prevail on the latter, by gold and fair words, to withdraw further opposition to the restoration of the peace of the church. The three kings accepted the task, and expounded the emperor's views, in which they fully concurred; but Benedict refused all compromise more resolutely than ever. But on finding his own cause was hopeless, and that he even was in some danger of being made prisoner, he contrived to foment an insurrection among the inhabitants of Perpignan, and in the confusion resulting, made good his escape, with his four cardinals, to Pensacola, a strong castle built on a rock, on the Valencia coast. There, like an eagle in her eyrie, he remained unmolested until his death, in 1424, though abandoned by the king of Arragon, the last of his powerful supporters, and formally deposed by the Council of Constance on the 17th of June, 1417.

It was considered impolitic to employ active measures, as the castle held by the resolute old man must have cost much bloodshed to take. It was, moreover, evident his claims must end with his life; so he was allowed to fulminate ban and anathema at his pleasure. The world laughed at his impotent assumptions, when, with the few hundred inhabitants of Pensacola for his flock, and the four cardinals still faithful to his cause, he pretended to represent the universal apostolic church, and declared all the rest of Europe had fallen into heresy and schism. Benedict was unquestionably mad, and with madmen reasoning is unavailable. His death was, therefore, patiently awaited; but in defiance of men's expectations,

even his death did not heal the schism in the church. He had made his four cardinals take solemn oath, that on his decease they would elect one of their number to his throne: and this farce was actually performed. Three of the cardinals chose the fourth, Ægidibus Munioz, who assumed his new dignities as Clement VIII.; and thus the schism was maintained until 1429, when Clement sold his miniature pontificate to his rival at Rome for the bishopric of Majorca.*

The great schism was finally closed on the 11th of November, 1417, with the election of Cardinal Colonna (Martin V.),† and once more, instead of the two or three infallibilities, there was but one.

It might have been supposed that the College of Cardinals, warned by the danger of the late schism, would take every precaution to avoid their recurrence; but within a few years the same strange spectacle was again offered to the world. On the death of Pope Martin V., February 27, 1431, Cardinal Gabriel Gondelmerio, thenceforth known as Eugenius IV., was elected pope,

* He was in some sort forced to make the exchange, under immediate pressure of starvation. Two of the four cardinals, on Benedict's death, had appropriated for their own use all the money in the papal treasury, together with the gold and silver crucifixes, chalices, jewels, and valuable Madonna ornaments; and as the Pensacola apostolic throne had no private revenues, there remained at length no alternative for its occupant but to make his peace with the world.

† No papal ordination was ever of more imposing character than that of Pope Martin V. Immediately on his nomination a vast procession proceeded to St. Peter's, he accompanying it in a covered litter, borne by the emperor of Germany on the right hand, by the elector Palatine on the left. The procession was formed of princes, nobles, church dignitaries, and priests, numbering five thousand persons in all;—whilst the multitudes gathered to behold the spectacle passed all enumeration.

and made it his duty to immediately summon an Œcumenical Council. He had a sufficiently stringent reason for this proceeding, for, as the reader has already seen, the Hussite war was then at its fiercest height, and the crusaders sent against the heretics had just suffered shameful defeat. As the usual papal remedy, "fire and sword" had failed, it was necessary to have recourse to fraud, and bring back the schismatics to voluntary reconciliation by apparent concessions. This was one of the objects to be achieved by the Council, and it was fully achieved; the other was the reformation of the church itself, from its head down through all its subordinate members. The whole world, disgusted by the universal demoralisation of the ecclesiastical system, called loudly for this reform, and Eugenius, though sorely against his will, summoned the Council, in obedience to the demands of the German emperor, and various other potentates, and opened its proceedings through his legates at Bâle, July, 1431. But he had determined on the attitude he should assume towards it from the moment of the opening. He had resolved the whole ecclesiastical system, with its abuses and excrescences, should be left untouched, and, above all things, to yield no iota of his "apostolic prerogatives or revenues! The Sacred College and all the high dignitaries of the church were united in the same policy; the lower clergy, however, especially the doctors of theology at the various universities, and the learned members of the monastic orders, unanimously agreed with the whole secular world that the sacerdotal system was no longer endurable, that the church had drifted to the edge of an abyss, and

that from mere papacy, idolatry, and false doctrine, every vestige of Christianity had been well nigh eliminated from the whole fabric.

The pope, indeed, had no possibility to avoid calling the Council, demanded as it was alike by the priesthood, the laity, and still more by the Emperor Sigismund; and thus, after many delays, it was finally opened, as we have said, on the 23rd of June, 1431. But it was not largely attended; the higher prelates were generally absent, and the emperor could only induce even those of Germany to appear under heavy threats in event of contumacy; for it was known that a serious design was on foot to employ the council for the reformation of the church, a design utterly abhorrent and monstrous in the eyes of the pope and his chief hierarchs. They, therefore, studiously employed every means to lower the council in the estimation of the world. These means proved successful; and to deprive the Bâle reformers of the necessary moral influence, the pope directed his legate, Cardinal Julien, to dissolve the assembly, anno 1431, under the empty promise of calling another in seven years at Bologna, "because it had overstepped its powers, and sought only to encroach on the just prerogative of the apostolic throne." But the legate, for politic reasons, declined to carry out these instructions, considering it necessary, at least "in appearance," to satisfy the demands of the world for church rehabilitation. Pope Eugenius, however, would listen to no conciliatory advice, and, in 1432, published a Bull, formally dissolving the council of Bâle. He had doubted not the assembled priests and prelates would separate at his

word of command, and learnt, with horror, how much that belief had misled him. Kaiser Sigismund, who, with many other high potentates, had gone to Bâle, positively commanded the reverend fathers to pursue their deliberations, "whilst he induced the pope to withdraw the edict of dissolution." The Council continued its sittings, and, on February 14, 1432, formally voted itself "legitimately assembled," and its authority "supreme over that of the pope." Eugenius, on learning this, at once repeated his Bull of dismissal, and commanded all members of the Sacred College, and priesthood holding office in Rome, to leave Bâle without delay, under pain of "deprivation of their benefices." The latter argument was not without effect, and many prelates submitted to a command thus emphasised. The Kaiser Sigismund intervened a second time, and in somewhat drastic fashion. Then the pope, finding menaces of no avail, determined to make peace with the Council: failiug to conquer by force, he might overreach it yet by cunning. He had good grounds for his enmity, the Council was seriously bent on removing ecclesiastical abuses, or, at least, some of the more flagrant; whilst certain of the liberal clergy even dared to charge the papacy with "a barren pride that trampled under foot all the rights of humanity." The resolutions actually recorded bore evidence of the same spirit, as the following examples from them show: "From henceforth all ecclesiastical appointments shall be made according to the canons of the church; all simony cease; from henceforth all priests, whether of the highest or the lowest rank, shall put away their concubines, and whoso, within two

months of the appearance of this decree, neglecteth its requisitions, shall be deprived of his functions, though he were the very bishop of Rome. Henceforth the ecclesiastical administration of each country shall cease to depend on papal caprice, and be regulated by annual national synods; henceforth the secular clergy shall be Christian and decorous in their habits and conversation; monks and nuns emulate apostolic poverty; henceforth the abuse of ban and anathema by the popes cease, and no country or city laid under the interdict except in cases of notorious heresy; henceforth all banquets, merrymakings, dances, markets, feasts of fools, &c., held until now in churches discontinued, that the worship of God may again be worthily celebrated.* From thenceforth the Roman Curia, *i. e.*, the popes, shall neither demand nor accept any fees for ecclesiastical offices, and thus the *Annatæ, Pallium* fees, Reservations, &c.,

* The disorders mixed up with religious worship at that time were so gross, that all the rites of the churches seemed in imminent danger of being finally lost in them. Indeed, divine worship could scarcely be called so with any propriety; it had become so mere a succession of ceremonies and festival processions, intended to dazzle and amuse men's eyes and senses. Some of these celebrations, such as the Feast of the "Ass," and the "Feast of Fools" especially, were not only remarkable for their splendour, but for their gross satire on the church. The "asses'" feast was celebrated twice a year: at Christmas, in honour of the ass on which Christ entered Jerusalem; at Midsummer, in honour of the one used by Mary in the flight into Egypt. On these occasions an ass taught to kneel was dressed in priestly vestments, and wearing stole and skull cap, was led to the altar; of course, the animal could neither speak nor sing, but this failing was supplied by a human coadjutor concealed behind; whilst at those parts of the service where Amen should be spoken by the priest, the ass was pricked until it gave voice audibly enough, and the pious congregation laughed immensely at the joke. Still more indecent was the "Feast of Fools," which, like the saturnalia of the ancients, was

&c., are herewith abolished. Henceforth, a pope hath to think not of the treasures of this world, but attach himself only to those of the world to come; and therefore, once each year, a cardinal shall read over to him

celebrated in December;* *i. e.*, from Christmas until the last Sunday after Epiphany. On these occasions, one of the lower clergy, renowned as a "jovial brother," dressed up as an abbot or bishop, or even as the pope; he was then conducted in vast procession, and amid the shouts and cheers of the assembled spectators, to the principal church, where, amid the most fantastic and ridiculous ceremonies, he received ordination. The pseudo bishop or pope, as the case might be, placed himself before the altar, and read mass in precisely the same manner as the dignitary he travestied. But whilst he was thus occupied, his masked attendants, who acted as choristers and sacristans, indulged in a thousand absurd tricks and pranks. Some danced round the altar singing licentious ballads; others employed it as a table at an hostelry, and producing sausages from their pockets, sat down to discuss them, or, having tapped a barrel of wine provided for the occasion, hobbed-nobbed with each other, played cards and dice, and spiced the entertainment with the most blasphemous oaths their invention supplied; others, again, masked as monks and nuns, threw off the greater part of their raiment, and thus, half naked, threw themselves into obscene attitudes, whilst another group was busied in defiling the incense vessels in a manner too foul to be particularised. The pantomime went on during the whole time of high mass; but the delight of the spectators reached its climax when the officiating dignitary walked in procession round the

* "If we compare our Bacchanalian Christmases and New Years' Tides with these Saturnalia and Feasts of Janus, we shall finde such near affinitye betweene them both in regard of time, and in their manner of solemnizing (both of them being spent in revelling, epicurism, wantonesse, idleness, dancing, drinking, stage plays, masques, and carnal pompe and jollitye), that we must needs conclude the one to be the ape or issue of the other. Hence Polydor Virgil affirms in express tearmes that our "Lords of Misrule," which custom is chiefly observed in England, together with dancing, masques, mumming, and such other Christmas disorders now in use with Christians, were derived from these Roman Saturnalia: which "should cause all pius Christians to abominate them." —Prynne *Histrio Mastix.*

the conduct it behoves him to exhibit, so he may be an example unto all men." Thus decreed the reverend fathers assembled at Bâle; but we shall readily conceive how little the pope felt disposed to adopt their injunctions. Though well aware that the greater number of the resolutions had been passed but to satisfy the world outside, without any anticipation of their realization,* yet the financial changes proposed struck home so deeply that he felt it imperatively necessary to get rid of the council, if the apostolic throne were to be saved from a very serious peril.

Happily, a convenient pretext was not wanting, without having recourse to any violent measures. Eugenius was in negociation with the Greek Church respecting its re-integration with Rome; and he now demanded that the Council of Bâle should unite with the Greek legates and thus form a true Œcumenical Council, which, as the said legates could not be required to extend their journey into Switzerland, might be best held in an Italian city, —Ferrara for instance. The proposal seemed a reason-

church, rolling his eyes, and making the most extravagant grimaces, as he gave the customary benediction to the people, for the main point of the festival was in its mockery of the priestly functions. Nor must it be supposed the vulgar alone constituted the spectators; the high nobility, even ladies of the most exalted rank, attended; even members of the higher clergy, bishops and archbishops, were ready to laugh heartily when the sham pope performed his part with humour,—thus, at least, tacitly admitting that the whole religious service of the time was nothing but a prodigious priestly sham.

* Contemporary writers declare that not any change for the better followed, even in the humblest convents, from the proceedings of the Bâle Synod, and assuredly no improvement in general ecclesiastical morality.

able one; but the reverend fathers soon penetrated its real object, and, when the pope, in a bull dated September 18, 1437, formally prorogued their assembly to Ferrara, the majority refused compliance with the command. Those of higher rank,—cardinals, archbishops, and bishops (especially the French and Italian),—were content to "depart;" but the lower representatives of the hierarchy—delegates from cathedral chapters and universities, doctors of theology, learned professors, &c.,—"remained," declaring themselves the one true and legitimate Œcumenical Council, whose powers no pope could invalidate, as it was, by its very nature, "superior to the pope." Eugenius, in return, issued an edict dissolving the Bâle Synod, and threatened the anathema in the event of disobedience. The synod then cited the pope to appear before it, and, on his non-appearance, passed and published a decree, January 21, 1438, suspending him from his functions, and further denouncing the rival Synod of Ferrara: "a gathering of schismatics." This Synod of Ferrara, or Florence rather, Eugenius, for his greater convenience, had removed it to the latter city, had assembled as quickly as possible, and declared that: "It alone, in as much as it had been summoned by the pope, constituted a true Œcumenical Council, whilst at Bâle sat a beggarly mob,—mere vulgar fellows from the lowest dregs of the clergy,—apostates, blasphemers, rebels, men guilty of sacrilege,—jailbirds, men who, without exception, deserved 'only to be hunted back to the devil, from whom they came.'" We can readily appreciate the pope's satisfaction at this language; and he gave his seal to it by pronouncing the

ban against the Council of Bâle. The latter was not, however, daunted; returned scorn with scorn, insult with insult, anathema with anathema. May 25, 1439. —The recalcitrant fathers boldly declared Pope Eugenius a simonist, perjurer, and irredeemable heretic; a firebrand of discord; a waster of the goods of the Church; a rebel against God; and, in solemn convocation, pronounced his deposition,—choosing, finally, a successor to his throne in the person of Amadeus of Savoy, who assumed the title of Felix V.

Schism was once more established; reciprocal curses and bans recommenced. It must be acknowledged to the honour of Pope Felix, he kept much more within the limits of decency than his rival. Felix, even as Pontifex Maximus, could not divest himself of all the better influences of his earlier education, whilst Eugenius developed a bravoura in his style of imprecation such as no earlier or later pope ever equalled. He denounced Felix V. as a "hell-dog," and "Antichrist;" a "golden calf," and a "Mahomet;" the fathers at Bâle, "ravening beasts;" "devils disguised as men," who had set up the idol Moloch. In his fury, blessed and absolved the very highway robbers, who stopped supplies on the way to Bâle. He failed not to call on all kings and rulers to break off every kind of intercourse with "rebels," who notoriously had no other end in view than to establish a new schism in the Church; in the mean time, employing every possible means of bribery and persuasion to detach the more distinguished members from the body. In this he succeeded beyond all possible anticipation, so that, within a few years, the Bâle synod

had much the aspect of the German Rump Parliament of later times. The right, *de jure*, was undoubtedly on its side, but both power and worldly influence on that of Eugenius and the Council of Florence. The contest closed with the Council of Bâle, in the consciousness of its impotence, dissolving by its own act, anno 1443, when Pope Felix V. voluntarily resigned his nominal dignity, and Eugenius became sole pope once more. Since then, the world has been spared the spectacle of rival contemporaneous popes, though the interposition of the Holy Ghost in the decisions of the sacred college may be none the less questionable. Earthly passions and interests have dictated every papal election since, as anterior to the time of Eugenius IV. Each cardinal, chiefly intent on securing for himself the highest dignity in the Church, would leave no means untried, from the moment he assumed the red hat, for obtaining the votes of his colleagues. If, on a vacancy occurring, circumstances were unfavourable to his hopes, then the elevation of one of his brethren, who, in the course of nature, could not long retain the throne, became the first object of the defeated candidate, who thus sought in the future the chance of repairing present disappointment. We thus find that, for the last two hundred years, with rare exceptions, none have obtained the tiara but feeble old men, who, in a few years, were summoned to another world; but, despite the years and decrepitude of the candidates, the deliberations of their electors in conclave were generally as stormy as those of the stormiest Polish Diet.

One or two instances will be sufficient in illustration.

On the death of Clement XI., 1721, the cardinals were split into three factions, all equally disinclined to yield to the other. Such diversities of opinion had been known before in the sacred college; but never till then had eminences, scarlet hatted, fairly come to blows, thrown inkstands at each other's heads, or by reciprocal pulling of each other's locks, enforced the virtues of their several candidates. After liberal employment of clenched fists, emphasised by proportionate kicking and swearing, the majority agreed to elect a decrepid old cardinal, named Angelo Conti, who seemed little likely to wear the tiara for three years. The new pope assumed the name of Innocent XIII., and justified the hopes of his electors by dying within twenty-four months. As violent a scene accompanied the choice of his successor: for full two months the sacred college was in bitter internal conflict before finally nominating Cardinal Orsini, then seventy-six years of age, who took possession of St. Peter's chair as Benedict XIII. The strife was still fiercer on his decease, in 1730: the cardinals sat for three months in conclave before the spirit of union could develop itself among them;—of the Holy Spirit we assuredly find no trace. At length Cardinal Lorenzo Orsini, in honour of his seventy-six years of age and failing eyesight, obtained the requisite majority of votes, and became Pope Clement XII. It was surely impossible he should live long? But lo! to the sore disappointment of the college, His Holiness wore the tiara for ten years; and the cardinals resolved to act with greater circumspection on the next election, and on no account choose for his successor one who could live so unconscionably long. Seventy-

five princes of the church assembled in conclave on the death of Clement XII.; and after debating for full six months (making sometimes so scandalous an uproar their voices were audible at half a mile distance) they finally resolved on the appointment of Cardinal Prospero Lambertini, then but sixty-five years of age, but apparently on the very edge of the grave. Lambertini, as Pope Benedict XIV., recovered, in defiance of the predictions of his surgeon, who had been consulted by the electors, and seemed to become every year more robust, until in 1728, when he, too, made way for a new candidate. Fortunately, this successor was one of the most amiable of all those who have worn the triple crown. The church might well regard his pontificate as a real boon, in marked disaccord with the feelings of the cardinals, for whom the papal "immortality," as they were pleased to call it, was a source of cruel irritation.

The succeeding elections were marked by the same character; it would be too tedious to recount their details. In conclusion, we may quote a pleasant little bit of histrionism (Lustiges Stucklein) enacted by Cardinal Felice Peretti da Montalto, on the death of Gregory XIII., 1585, to the no little amusement of contemporary Christendom. Felice Peretti was the offspring of very poor parents, and had filled the duties of a swineherd in his childhood. By the good offices of his uncle he was taken into the Franciscan monastery at Ascoli, when thirteen years of age, and studied there with so much ardour, and to such good purpose, he was soon regarded as one of the rising luminaries of the church. He from thenceforth mounted step by step in his new profession,

until, in 1570, his chief patron, Pius V., raised him to the cardinalate: and from that moment all his efforts were directed to securing the papal throne. But the same object occupied his brother cardinals, though he adopted very different tactics to theirs. When Pius V. died and Gregory XIII. became pope, Cardinal Montalto immediately withdrew from public life under pretence of ill health, and to all appearance became wholly engrossed in his cares for his soul's welfare. He was considered by all completely dead to the world and its vanities, and he ever spoke of himself as having already one foot in the grave. When forced to attend his duties in the sacred college, he made his appearance with trembling steps, supported by a stout staff, whilst a continual cough seemed to indicate the inevitable death from consumption fast approaching. He meekly agreed to everything proposed by his brethren, and with a half inaudible voice breathed forth his hopes at the close of each meeting, that "God would soon release him from this vale of tears." If any sought to comfort him, by the assurance that he was still too young to think of death, he never failed to add eight years to his actual age; and those who beheld his hollow cheeks, his wrinkles (they were artificial), his lustreless eyes, slow gait, and figure bent to the ground, could not have doubted his assertion. In short, so effectual was the disguise, that the greater number of his colleagues regarded him as a childish old dotard, and called him in derision the "Ass from the Marches;—our Montalto was born in Grotta a Mare, in the Marches of Ancona. On hearing the joke, he merely smiled feebly, and made no answer. Such a

man was assuredly the best possible candidate for the papacy: not only might it be reasonably hoped his pontificate would be a very brief one, but that he would leave the government completely in the hands of the cardinals. Therefore, when Gregory XIII. died, in 1585, a majority of the forty-two, who then constituted the conclave, made Montalto pope, to the great wrath of Cardinals Medici and Farnesi, who, as the most influential of the body, considered the right to the honour lay between them alone. Montalto, with a low, faint voice, voted for Cardinal Rusticucci; but his own election was soon determined, and scarcely was its result made known than the "triumphant candidate," says his biographer, Leti, threw away the crutches on which he had supported his sinking form, and immediately chanted forth the "Te Deum Laudamus," until the hall re-echoed with his full, sonorous tones. Bewildered, humiliated, the cardinals gazed at the palsied dotard thus transformed in their presence into a robust, energetic man. But Montalto was none the less pope, and held the reins of government with an unequalled sternness and resolute vigour.

But in such an election as this of Sixtus V. (for so Montalto designated himself), we shall also assuredly discover no place for "Infallibility," and the Holy Ghost.

BOOK VI.

POPE AND MODERN DAYS.

"Ir G'walt ist veracht,
Ir Kunst wird verlacht,
Ir Lugen nit g'acht,
Gschwächt ist ihr Macht
Recht ist, 's, wie's Gott macht!"

Ambrosius Blaurer.

"Your power 's despised,
Unheeded your lies,
Of your arts men make light,
All weakened your might;—
God so wills and 'tis right!"

CHAPTER I.

THE RESURRECTION OF THE PAPACY.

On the 29th of May, 1799, Pius VI. died a prisoner at Valence on the Rhone, and the whole world believed the papacy had for ever fallen. Rome, and the states of the church, Avignon, and the Comté of Venessain, had been appropriated by the French, and not a single rood of ground was left that the head of the church could call his own. The hatred of his former subjects was not satisfied by sending him beggared to a foreign land, but his attendants, and all, indeed, connected with the papal court, were relentlessly persecuted; no man known as a partisan of the triple crown escaped with life.*

* The revolution in Avignon was especially ruthless in character. On the nights of the 16th and 17th of August, the infuriated populace, led by Jourdans, Duprat, and Jouves, murdered the last papal vice-legate, Philippe Casoni, with all his attendants. The spot, on the third story of the Trouillas tower, is still shown, whence the murdered man was thrown. The people had but too good cause for their hatred. The subterranean torture chambers of the Inquisition within the castle, and a thousand other blood-stained mysteries of the papal residence there, might well have awakened a thirst of vengeance in the gentlest natures. The tradition attached to the "Salle-brulée" will sufficiently justify our assertion. In 1509, the nephew, or rather the illegitimate

No marvel, therefore, bishops and cardinals hurried from Rome with what speed they could, to the only land where they were assured of safety. That land, the reader will instinctively know, was Austria; indeed, in no other, not even in Spain, would the people hear longer of a "Christ's vicegerent." It was well nigh a year ere the cardinals, scattered as they were about the world, contrived to meet at Venice, and give a new chief to Christendom. The election took place May 14th, 1800. The successful aspirant, Cardinal Gregory Barnabas Chiaremonte became Pope Pius VII. The world again possessed a Pontifex Maximus, but a very negative one: he was landless, and no country but Austria acknowledged his authority, or even recognised his existence.

It then happened that General Buonaparte won the battle of Marengo, and thus having become the arbiter of Italy, restored the pope to his Roman throne. We might well ask his purpose in thus acting, for Buonaparte was assuredly not one of the most devoted sons

son of the resident legate, was put to death by the husband of a noble lady violated by him. The deed was accomplished at night, and without witnesses; the murderers were unknown; nor had the legate any means of penetrating the mystery, though he might well suspect who was the real offender. In this dilemma he invited every noble in Avignon, who had a well favoured wife, to a banquet at the castle, and when they were all seated at table, caused the door to be fast secured, and with his own hands set fire to a great barrel of pitch, which was then flung in amongst his guests from a trap door in the ceiling. The flames soon spread to every thing of a combustible nature within the room, and the guests all perished; he, who had revenged his wife's dishonour, with the rest. Such was the legate's retribution for his son's death, and the hall, which was subsequently restored, has ever since retained the name of the "Salle-brulée."

of the church; but the explanation is easily found. He had already resolved to be emperor of the French, and made peace with the church, or rather with the hierarchy, to secure its aid for his project. The French were again to mould their thoughts on Roman Catholicism, for a "reason" worship was unsuited to the demands of an autocrat; despotism can only prosper when the people have abdicated their right of free thought. For this, therefore, Napoleon concluded in 1801 a concordat with Pius VII., and restored the papal supremacy over the church. The pope, naturally very grateful, proved himself not grateful only, but even devoted, hoping through the future emperor of the world to recover all the ancient rights of the apostolic see. For this he entitled General Buonaparte the "Restorer of the Catholic Religion, Protector of the faith, and Saviour of the church from the abyss of revolution." He even decreed a new religious festival in honour of a St. Napoleon, and showed the greatest readiness to perform the coronation of the new emperor at Paris, October 31st, 1804.

But Pius already, during his visit to the French capital, perceived too clearly that Imperial Majesty had little intention of restoring papal power, and had invited the Vicegerent of heaven but to give a spectacle to the Parisians. Napoleon would become the anointed of the Lord, as Pepin of old had been; but this end attained, the bestower of the sacred chrysma might go whither he listed, though with quite other feelings than those with which he had entered France. Napoleon's studied condescension was a sore trial to endure, still

more so were the ecclesiastical laws promulgated by him, and the restoration of the edict,* so called, of "Gallican church independence" of 1682, which almost wholly emancipated the church of France from Rome.

This must, indeed, have been a sore tribulation to the pope, for thenceforth every form of "monetary aid" from France to the Roman curia was strictly interdicted, whilst the emperor further retained in his own hands the right of presentation to all the episcopal and archiepiscopal sees within his dominions, leaving to the apostolic chair only the nominal right of ratifying the presentation when already determined; that therefore a reformation of the church, or rather the suppression of its systematic obscurantism was seriously resolved on, but never for a moment a revival of its ancient power; indeed, the whole fabric palpably was merely allowed to exist on sufferance, and by the emperor's special grace. Then followed a further abomination in the suppression of the convents and monasteries of Germany, the secularization of its episcopal lands and revenues. This secularization extended even into Naples, formerly so devoted to Rome; but then Napoleon's brother Joseph was invested with the crown of the two Sicilies.

Under such circumstances we can feel no wonder that Pius in his wrath grew so stiff-necked that, as it has been said, "he became a very mule, that will neither budge for words nor blows."

* We have already referred to this edict—the "quatuor propositiones cleri Gallicani," in the second book of our first volume, and we need here only add that it suffered some modifications under Louis XIV. and Louis XV., and was re-established on a still broader basis by Napoleon.

The pope might well suppose that no opposition he could offer would avail against the power of a Napoleon, but he had grown too indignant at such a return for the sacred unction bestowed in Paris, and resolved to stir no step, let this Corsican strike or spur as he would, —in short, meet the demands of his antagonist with the resoluteness of one driven to the last extremity.

In pursuance of this course, he refused to acknowledge Joseph as king of Naples; resisted, in the most determined manner, the imposition of the code Napoleon on the Roman states, and not only declined to close his ports to English vessels, but despite its heresy entered into an alliance with England, to the bitter annoyance of the Emperor Napoleon, who wanted to cut off the islanders from all intercourse with the rest of Europe, by the so-called "continental blockade." Napoleon had recourse to reprisals, commanding General Miollis to march on Rome; the general entered the city on the 2nd of February, 1808, disarmed the papal troops, but to His Holiness was offered the alternative of entering into an alliance, defensive and offensive, with France, thus putting an end to the disorders throughout Italy, or behold the loss of his capital. Napoleon treated his reverend opponent with a certain consideration, making only such demands that might reasonably obtain acceptance, but Pius VII. turned a deaf ear to all reasoning, and grew the more obstinate the more the French emperor proved conciliatory. Instead of strengthening his position by political tact, he had recourse to the old sacerdotal weapons, and immediately ordered his legates in Paris to demand their passports.

Then came an end to Napoleon's patience, and the papal provinces of Urbino, Macerato, Ancona, and Camerino * were united with the kingdom of Italy.

Still the pope yielded not; protested, indeed, with the greatest energy, forbade all Italian bishops to obey the French authorities, and even in a Brief, issued April 3, 1809, threatened the ban and interdict against the emperor for despoiling St. Peter's patrimonium, as though the days of Gregory VII. had returned again. But this was a fatal error.

Until then the Emperor had left Rome and the districts immediately surrounding the city in the hands of the pope; but, when Pius carried his pretensions to such extremities, Napoleon, on the 17th of May, 1809, decreed, from his camp before Vienna, the expropriation of the last remnants of church territory to the advantage of the kingdom of Italy, Rome to become an IMPERIAL FREE CITY.†

* The decree issued by Napoleon on this occasion declares:—"In consideration of the persistent refusal of the temporal sovereign of Rome to enter into an alliance with the kings of Upper Italy and Naples, for the defence of the Italian peninsula against the English, though the interests of both the said powers, as well as those of the States of the Church, demanded this; in consideration, further, that the lands constituting the States of the Church, granted by our revered predecessor Charlemagne, were granted for the service of Christendom, not for the profit of the enemies of our holy religion; in consideration, finally, that, by command of the pope, the legate of the Roman court demanded his passport on 30th of March last, we hereby resolve and decree, that the said provinces of Urbino, Ancona, Macerato, and Camerino be henceforth and for ever united to our kingdom of Italy."

† The edict ran:—In consideration that various lands and lordships granted the pope by our revered predecessor Charlemagne, were so granted in fief merely, whilst Rome, by the said grants, never ceased to

The realization of the imperial edict had not long to be awaited, and the pope found himself by the close of May, 1809, as effectually secularised as the rest of the ecclesiastical princes of Europe. But Napoleon was generous, and not only appointed a handsome revenue for the Head of the Church and his cardinals, exempted his estates and palaces from all taxes, but even exonerated them from the civil jurisdiction of the state. It might have been supposed the pope would gratefully acknowledge such magnanimity, and resign himself to that which appeared inevitable. But not so. Scornfully spurning Napoleon's offers, he retired behind the walls of St. Angelo, resolved to defend himself with the ancient artillery which had formerly made the whole world tremble. In his self-delusion he saw not that the once redoubtable thunderbolts had grown rusty from centuries of disuse, and that ban and interdict were no weapons wherewith to humble a Napoleon. He even at last dreamed of a crusade against France as in the days of the Waldensian heresy. It might well seem incredible, but it is yet true, that, on the 9th and 10th of June, 1809, Pius actually issued two Bulls of anathema, the first directed against the Emperor Napoleon as the originator of papal secularisation; the second consigning

form part of the French monarchy; in consideration, further, that the mixture of the temporal and spiritual power has grown an inexhaustible source of discord, since the popes are too apt to abuse their spiritual authority for the support of their temporal pretensions; in consideration, finally, that the interests of Heaven (which are immutable), whilst the bishops of Rome possess temporal sovereignty are ever entangled with worldly interests; we herely ordain, the States of the Church shall henceforth be indissolubly united with the French empire.

to lowest Hell all participators in the seizure of the states of the Church.

The scheme was a bold one, but it bore evil fruit. On the night of the 6th or 7th of July, a body of soldiers, under General Radel, scaled the garden wall of the Vatican—got into the palace by a window—broke through the locked doors opposing their advance—disarmed the Swiss guard—and so made a forcible entrance into the sleeping chamber of the pope, from whom they demanded a categorical declaration that he would renounce all temporal pretensions and withdraw the Bull of anathema. Pius VII. refused, protesting he would rather accept the worst fate in store for him than sign such an abdication, moreover, threatening General Radel with the sternest penalties of the Church if he dared lay hands on the successor of the apostles; but the general would seem to have felt very little concern for these threats; caused the Head of the Church to be made fast in an arm chair, and so lowered down by the broken window into the street below; there a close carriage was in waiting—the prisoner was placed in it—the horses dashed off at full speed—and with a strong escort in attendance, he passed through the gates of Rome, then over Florence to Turin, and by Mont Cenis to Grenoble. There, at length, a halt was made; an imperial palace placed at the pope's disposal, and Napoleon once more offered him a revenue of 2,000,000 francs, and all the appurtenances of a court in whichever city of the south of France he might choose as a residence. Pius VII. answered only, he could hold no intercourse with one under the ban, and acted with such studied defiance that

the emperor lost patience, caused him to be removed over Valence and Nice to Savona, and there guarded as a prisoner. Pius still yielded no iota, and refused to recognise the bishops nominated by Napoleon, with the avowed purpose of exciting discontent among the French people. He not less positively opposed the emperor's divorce from Josephine Beauharnais, and subsequent union with Marie Louise. He procured, by the assistance of Cardinal di Pietro, a number of pamphlets to be printed at Lyons, in which Napoleon's acts were violently assailed; in short, neglected no means of injuring the man to whom, in 1809, he had been, as it were, indebted for very existence. To put an end to this factious opposition, Napoleon caused his adversary to be removed to Fontainebleau (1812), where he was finally induced (1813) to confirm the "Four Articles" of the Gallican Church, and recognise the imperial bishops. Scarcely had this treaty been signed and the hope sprang up in France of restored peace for the Church, than Pius suddenly declared his own solemnly given word as null and void, and revoked all his late promises: "since the 'Four Articles' of 1682 were totally incompatible with the very existence of the papacy." *

* The holy father in his letter to Napoleon, by which he sought to justify this breach of faith, strangely enough, appealed to the precedent offered by Paschalis II., who had declared a treaty regarding the pallium investiture, concluded with the Emperor Henry V., null and void, immediately after solemnly swearing to it, and even taking the sacrament thereon as a further pledge of sincerity, therefore he, Pius, claimed the same privilege of "oath breaking." This was surely the perfection of naïve infamy.

Napoleon, made indignant beyond measure at the treachery, again caused the pope to be held prisoner; it availed him not. Pius at once began to intrigue with the Bourbons; but in all probability would never have regained his temporal power had not the emperor shortly afterwards fallen, and with him his whole dynasty.

The only country on which the pope could rely in those days of tribulation was Austria, as, indeed, we have already indicated. The House of Hapsburg, from of old, distinguished itself as devotedly "papistical," rather than piously Catholic, and the reigning Emperor Francis had been educated in the same traditions,—that the Christian religion is synonymous with the papacy.

The pope, indeed, proved the wisdom of his tactics in secretly despatching a letter from Fontainebleau to the Emperor of Austria, to secure his advocacy at the Peace Congress, then (1813) sitting at Praga. Francis was thoroughly well disposed to the office, but the congress had unhappily dissolved before the papal missive reached Vienna; for this time, at least, nothing could be effected. The following year, the allied armies took the field against Napoleon. Paris was entered in triumph by the Emperors of Austria and Russia, the King of Prussia, and the representative of the English sovereign; and the Napoleon dynasty (for a period) annulled not only for Italy, but for France. The possibility of papal resuscitation had arrived, and Pius lost no moment in availing himself of it. The allied monarchs based their proceeding on the *reconstruction* of the map of Europe as it had existed before the

French Revolution, and the restoration of the various dispossessed dynasties to their former position. Pius applied a second time to Kaiser Francis,* and the sovereigns of England, Prussia, and Russia, demanding in the name of justice that the states of the Church should be again made over to him. The allies entered into his demands, though assuredly not on religious grounds, since three of the number were non-Catholic, and the Emperor of Austria alone, of the orthodox faith. To whom, indeed, could the States of the Church be given? To King Murat, still reigning at Naples? To the Austrians? To the French? Heaven forfend the thought! Italy should be again as it had been before the French revolution,—a land utterly rent asunder, cursed with hopeless impotence! Besides, was it not all important to three of the four members of the Holy Alliance to support the doctrine of divine right (Gottesgnadenthum) as their guiding principle, whilst the Emperor of Austria, to whom the North of Italy had fallen,

* The pope said, among things in his letter to the emperor, "No desire for lands or power, but the service of religion, our sacred duty to God, to the Church, to our people, and especially our oath, to preserve, defend, and watch over the possessions of the Apostolic throne, we made at our elevation to the papacy, all these stringently enjoin us to demand the restoration of our states, for as much they are not our personal inheritance, but the inheritance of St. Peter, who received them from God, for the free and unfettered support of His divine authority in the guidance of men's souls, and preservation of church unity among many lands and nations at enmity." So did the pope justify his claims on central Italy. The reader will have little difficulty in resolving his euphonious periods into far simpler, but far plainer, English.

was, above all things, intent on the eradication of the last vestige of revolution in the peninsula. As a conservative, or rather, a reactionary Italy without a Pope would not be conceivable, how could the allies act but as they acted? No, it behoved them to reinstate the pope if the principles of the Holy Alliance were to prosper.

So, on the 24th of May, 1814, Pius VII. returned to Rome, and once more entered into possession of the states of the Church. The papacy was restored in all its glory.

CHAPTER III.

THE POPES CHANGE NOT.

Once only, since the states of the Church have existed, has the population had reason to feel content. This exceptional period lies from 1809 to 1814, when Rome, and all the territory appertaining to it, was under French rule. Napoleon, after the removal of the pope in 1809, established a Council of State, presided over by General Miollis, who at once annulled the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, the right of Sanctuary, and the whole mediæval machinery by which the popes had governed until then. Instead of this, the code Napoleon was substituted, and impartial justice accorded to all. The change in the civil administration was not less salutary; indeed, the whole former system was at one blow overturned. The newly-organised police service proved especially effective; and the murders, burglaries, and highway robbery, before so rife, soon well nigh ceased. The inhabitants of St. Peter's patrimony, during the French occupation, could feel that they were men, and had the right of living as freeborn, thinking beings. No one was found to regret the pope's departure throughout his dominions but the brigands, whose profession had been

ruined by the new government. How went affairs on the pope's return?

It might have been hoped that the long captivity suffered by Pius VII. would not have passed without leaving its lesson on his mind; that he would have learnt by it the necessity of keeping pace with the age,—the hopelessness of struggling against the stream of events. Unhappily it was not so: the Pope remained what he had ever been,—he was immutably the same. Therefore, when in 1814, the year of his restoration, the princes met at the Congress of Vienna to regulate the new aspect of the world, he demanded through his legate, the notorious Cardinal Consalvi, full and complete restoration of the former power of the church,—especially insisting, that the secularisation of church property throughout Catholic Europe should be at once rescinded, and all things reconstituted on the olden basis. "The Holy Roman Empire, as the central point of political union among Christian states, to be without delay restored, or the papacy must lose its chief reliance as the central point of religious and canonical unity among Christian states;" moreover, "the dissolved monasteries, with all their revenues, be re-constituted, and the prince-bishops re-integrated with their lands and prerogatives; Protestant rulers, especially, to yield up all the ecclesiastical lands which had accrued to them by the treaties of the last thirty years; above all, France to give back the principality of Avignon and the comté of Veneissan to the apostolic throne, or incur the worst of all crimes,—the crime of sacrilege."

Such was the language held by the pope, and we can

see in it that the whole period from 1789 had, indeed, no existence for him. His thoughts and acts were alike merged in the one object, of restoring the Middle Ages, with all their sacerdotal power and mental characteristics. The Vienna congress, naturally, could not ratify such demands; for it could not annul with a scratch of the pen all history from 1789 to 1814. What course, then, remained to the pope? He solemnly protested against all arrangements which might prove injurious to the interests and claims of the Apostolic throne; and the protest was presented by his cardinal legate and added to the protocols.

Though it was found impracticable to re-plunge all European Christendom into the dark ages, by diplomacy at Vienna, yet so much the more successful was the pope in carrying out the experiment in his own territories,—there he at once abrogated the Napoleon code, and any other French innovations, restoring all things to the same status as before the year 1780. The whole judicial and civil administration, the police system; in short, all was remodelled and came forth again thoroughly mediævalised, and so has remained under the next succeeding popes, until the present time. If to day the great Kaiser Karl V. could rise from his grave he would have the satisfaction of finding, at least in one land, all his oppressive criminal tribunals, with their racks, tortures and death penalties, still in activity,—and that land the one governed by the Holy Father, the vicegerent of God upon earth!

The reader will not require from us a detailed relation of the domestic policy of Rome; but a few facts will

sufficiently serve our purpose and give an adequate conception of the utter demoralisation of this system of government;—facts, too, which distinguish the papal administration from every other in the world. Until within a very brief period, so long, indeed, as the pope still ruled absolutely throughout the "patrimony of St. Peter," in the whole land there was no single public office of the slightest importance or profit that was not filled by a priest,—of course, quite irrespective of his fitness for the duties required. In the criminal courts, for example, but half the Bench was represented by men who had gone through the necessary professional studies; the rest constituted by ecclesiastics without any pretence to the knowledge of the law. The evil became still more flagrant in the civil courts: there, for every three judges two were priests, and one only a properly-qualified jurist. On what principle decisions were given may be easily conceived, whilst the abuses would be still more gross in the absence of any code on which to found judgment. Nor was this enough: there were, and still are, a number of special courts. For example:—all ecclesiastical corporations and landed proprietors have the right of dispensing justice within their own domains; no priest or monk can be tried by the ordinary tribunals, whether on a civil suit or criminal prosecution. The strangest of the "special courts" is that called St. Peter's Tribunal, which has the right of privately examining the wills of deceased persons previous to the legal term for proving them. The object is, to discover what legacy or bequest St. Peter and his church have received (or if some provision of the kind cannot be interpolated).

Such was the "justice" established in all the states of the church, and such it still remains in those the pope yet rules over; so that it may be said with truth that justice has there really no existence. In the total absence of every guarantee for personal freedom, every *sbire*, every police agent can seize and throw into prison any one at his mere discretion. To give but one example of their method of procedure; among the six hundred and eighty-three persons consigned to fort Urban at Bologna, on the 21st of August, 1855, there were one hundred and twenty-four against whom no charge had ever been preferred, and, as the prison lists stated, they had been incarcerated merely for precautionary reasons. If we demand what treatment such prisoners received, the answer might well fill us with horror. The places used for their reception were well calculated to destroy not only the bodily health but even the mental sanity of the victims. Loathsome dens, unventilated, without light, deep underground in the damp earth, or in lofty towers exposed to the fierce rays of a southern sun; cells filled with so poisonous an effluvium, that the healthiest man would in a few weeks be prostrated with sickness if exposed to it, and such receptacles are called prisons within the states of the church.* To these must be

* After the greatest part of "St. Peter's patrimony" was added to the new kingdom of Italy in 1859, and the sufferings to which the people had been exposed brought to light, an official report by the Marquis Pepoli on the state of the prisons in Umbria furnished, among other particulars, the following:—"When I inspected the prisons at Orviedo, accompanied by one of the magistrates, we were both obliged to quit the cells after a few seconds, so pestilent and suffocating was the atmosphere within them. Irrespective of blows, chains, and hunger, the pallid

added, the infliction of a greater or less number of blows with a stick, employed at discretion by the judges during the preliminary examinations, and various other forms of torture and martyrdom, followed in so many instances by the suicide or madness of the sufferer.

Political prisoners were inevitably the most mercilessly treated; if, now and then, the outward forms of justice were employed in favour of a brigand or a murderer, they were inevitably discarded when a political offender was concerned. Such an one after lying long years in prison without trial, would only appear before his judge to receive the inevitable sentence to the bagnio, where he must, perforce, associate with the vilest malefactors.

So gross an abuse of power might well seem beyond credence, and yet the reader will no longer marvel at it, when we add, that all political offences are taken cognizance of by a special court, the "Santa Consulta," in which priests only have the right to sit in judgment, whilst they are endowed with such singular plenitude of power that they "neither allow the accused to be confronted with a witness, nor to employ an advocate;" from such a tribunal what can be anticipated but ruthless persecution and oppression.

aspect of the condemned bore witness that the state of their place of confinement was alone sufficient to cause the death of any one obliged to remain within it. I found the prisons of Maggione, Spelto, Gualto, Tadino, Fecoli, Castiglione, and Perugia in no better condition. The same damp, fœtid air prevalent everywhere; the walls running with moisture, and the straw in the truckle beds completely rotten." To this, food as bad as it was insufficient, an unremitting use of the lash, and, finally, the moral tortures inflicted by the priests. What more were possible?

Still more infamous, if possible, than the judicature is the police system in the states of the church. We may say, without fear of contradiction, that the territories held by the pope, swarming, as they do, with brigands and robbers, have afforded, since 1814, less security to life and property than any other country in Europe. There are but few cities within the "patrimony of St. Peter" where, for the last forty years, it has been safe to traverse the streets, or even cross one's own threshold after nightfall.

Under Pius VII., Leo XII., Pius VIII., Gregory XVI., or from 1814 to 1846, the robbers of the Campagna acquired a kind of European celebrity, and the papal government often found itself obliged to enter into treaties with them as with legitimate potentates. There was not, indeed, any lack either of papal police soldiers or gendarmes, but their energy in dealing with brigandage may well be matter of question. The majority of the priesthood were in league with the brigands, and employed them for the persecution or removal of persons suspected of liberal tendencies. Thus many of the robber chiefs, the famous Passatore among them, were not only in the habit of capturing wealthy persons in order to extract a ransom for their release, but levied black mail, or plundered whole towns and villages which they entered in the full light of day, wielding far more absolute power than the pope with all his soldiers and gendarmes.* Nor are the other branches of the papal

* In place of the multitude of examples our readers may find in the periodical press, we shall content ourselves with the following characteristic episode of brigandage. One evening the theatre at Bologna was

administration less subject to perversion and abuse than the judicature and police: trade, agriculture, manufactures, education, the four chief factors of national prosperity, have fallen in the states of the church to the lowest level well consistent with any form of civilization, whilst the government takes every means within its power to crush in the germ every attempt at self-development among its subjects. Despite the wealth of the soil, which demands industry alone to make it yield the richest harvests in the world, despite the splendid rivers which irrigate the land, and seem to challenge human ingenuity in the great motive power they offer, despite the magnificent harbours on the frontiers washed by two seas, where trade might find every natural facility

more than usually crowded, for a new piece was to be given. The curtain rose, and exhibited the stage occupied by a troop of bandits with muskets levelled at the audience. At the first moment many took for granted that the scene formed a part of the play, but they were very soon disillusioned; the captain of the band advanced to the front and formally called on some of the more distinguished spectators to enter into an arrangement with him for the ransom of the rest. He added that any person attempting to quit the theatre, or give an alarm, would be immediately shot. What course was possible in such a dilemma? None, indeed, but submission; for each mentally felt a bullet through his breast. Those summoned by name declared their readiness to fetch the required thousands of scudi from their strong boxes at home, and the captain of the brigands appointed an armed escort to accompany them for the purpose, with orders to dispatch the hostages at the slightest sign of any inclination to escape or summon assistance. During the whole period of their absence, the audience within the theatre sat perfectly silent in terror of the robber's muskets. Their liberators at length returned, paid over the money demanded, and, in another moment, the brigand chief and his men had disappeared, though they politely opened the closely-locked doors of the building before doing so. This is surely an incident sufficiently in point; the more so when we remember it occurred in a city numbering 72,000 inhabitants.

for development—despite all these things, the States of the Church are among the poorest and most degraded of all the countries of Europe. How could it be otherwise in the actual status of the people, or rather in the ignorance and mental darkness to which they are foredoomed? Yet there are no fewer than seven universities within the states of the church, namely, five of the second rank, as at Perugia, Camerino, Ferno, Macerato, Ferrara, and two of the first rank at Bologna and Rome, the last adorned with the title of "La Sapienza." But shall we find the ability and attainments of the professors in accordance with this high-sounding title? Are they not in nearly every instance mere theologians, or members either of the regular or secular clergy, who profess to teach things of which they are either totally ignorant, or but very superficially informed?

The man of the most distinguished acquirements could fill no chair at any of these universities without previously giving his adhesion to the official doctrines of obscurantism. The sciences, which form the very basis of mental development, natural philosophy, and metaphysics, are inexorably banished from these pious walls. We may, thence, conclude how the higher branches of knowledge fare in the papal states, despite all pretentious titles; but of these matters it is not now our purpose to speak, but rather of the popular education in the government schools, where the children of peasants and mechanics, &c., are professedly taught reading, writing, history, geography, and the rudiments of the physical sciences. What really is effected by these schools? Simply, nothing (gar nichts). The pope

declares that for salvation frequent confession, and bead-telling, regular offerings, and mass attendance, is alone requisite, and would seem to wholly despise the above branches of worldly knowledge. Throughout the States of the Church, there is not a single normal school; the duties of education devolved wholly into the hands of the monks and nuns. And the grand result is found in the fact, that scarcely a fifth of the pope's subjects can barely read and write. Thus does the Holy Father bring up his children, in such wise does he rule his domains. Are we not justified in declaring that the revival of the mediæval ages was at least successfully accomplished within the States of the Church.

Whether the population is happy under the régime is another question. The answer is unhappily, positively, unconditionally, in the negative. However helpless such a political system renders the people, they instinctively feel no better can ever exist for them, except by the complete demolition of its whole machinery, and the removal of the temporal power from the hands of the pope. It is to this cause, that in no country throughout the world, has there existed such constant discontent among the people against their rulers, as in the States of the Church. This discontent grows unceasingly, until it becomes an intense scorn and detestation, and the people eagerly seize every opportunity of making their feelings manifest. Thus, revolution and insurrection are of constant recurrence; though sometimes of greater, sometimes of less importance, and often ending in the pope being driven from Rome, and the Roman territories, though the effects of these popular move-

ments are but transitory, and the pope always returns to the Vatican within no long interval.

But so unanimous is the hatred of the Romans for their sovereign, he never returns by the efforts of any party at home, which has remained faithful to his cause, nor those of the army he maintains, but always by aid of foreign bayonets, and the intervention of foreign potentates. The proof of this was sufficiently given by the revolution of 1831, when within the four days (from the fourth to the eighth of February), the "temporal power was completely overthrown, though the apostolic chair had then 10,000 Swiss mercenaries in its pay. Within a few weeks the revolution was suppressed, the Austrians entering Bologna on the 21st of March; but we may easily imagine what would have come to pass if the house of Hapsburgh had had less papistic tendencies.

Again, we may recall the like insurrection of 1832, when to preserve the Holy Father from his "beloved children," Bologna was once more garrisoned by the Austrians, Ancona by the French; whilst in later years these troubles were of such chronic frequency, that French and Austrians never, in fact, quitted the states. When they left, the pope must also have departed; and to put an end to so an abnormal a state of things, the great powers at length represented to Pope Gregory that his system of administration did not meet the needs and interests of his people, and that reforms must be inaugurated without delay. And what did the pope? He gave fair words in reply, and did nothing. Whilst his reign lasted no ray of enlightenment was permitted

to enter the land, and but for the foreign soldiery "order," could not have been a day maintained.

He died at length, and after his death in 1846, Giovanni Maria Conte de Mastai Feretti, assumed the government as Pius IX. He had been chosen apparently to soothe the public animosity so universally excited by the miserable political system of his predecessor, and his first steps on coming into power did, indeed, seem to promise the dawn of a new era. He published an amnesty, and chose quite other advisers than had directed Gregory's counsels. The enthusiasm and delight of the people was boundless, and never was monarch more honoured by his subjects than Pius IX., by the population of the "states."

But it was soon apparent all this rapture was but ill-founded—how, indeed, could a pope be a reformer? To be so, he must at once abandon all the traditions of his office, renounce his very entity as it were,—assuredly too great a sacrifice to expect from any man. To epitomise events: the pope soon repented his unpapal liberalism, and aided by the Bavarian ambassador, quitted Rome in disguise, on the 25th of November, 1848, to seek safety from his rebellious subjects in the fortress of Gaëta. The Romans made good use of the opportunity, and undeterred by the ban and interdict fulminated against them, at once set themselves to the formation of a provisional government, and having declared the rule of the pope abolished for ever, proclaimed a republic; but the triumph was short lived. The Catholic powers, in reply to the appeal of His Holiness, resolved in March, 1849, to reinstate him by an armed interven-

tion. The Austrians took possession of the Legations, the French landed at Civitia Vecchia, and after a sanguinary conflict entered Rome in triumph.

Not long afterwards Pius IX. re-entered his capital (April 12, 1850), cured for ever of all "progress-quackery," as it was called (aufklarungschwindle), and re-inaugurated the system by which his predecessors had rendered their subjects so peculiarly blessed. The papacy was fully re-established, and for that very reason could not exist without French or Austrian support. Pius IX. endeavoured, with all the means at his command, to organise an army, that he might declare his government independent; but what manner of men composed the soldateska collected by him? It was a vast gathering of the dregs and offscourings of the whole Catholic world, with capacity for nothing but plunder and rapine,* falling into a panic at the apearance of an

* We need but remind the reader of the horrors committed at Perugia by the papal mercenaries; (Italians would think themselves dishonoured by entering the papal army, and abandon its ranks to Bavarians, Wurtemburgers, Switzers, Tyroleans, Saxons, and the people of Baden and Ireland;) horrors, which won for the leader of the troop, the Swiss captain, Smidt, the name of the "Burner of Perugia." No quarter was given: the mother was massacred with her unborn child; and when all resistance on the part of the insurrection had ceased, and those among the rebels capable of bearing arms had left the city, the slaughter of the helpless multitude left behind commenced, and the atrocities perpetrated exceeded, perhaps, the worst of which even Austrian *pandours* and *raizen* were ever guilty. Women and young girls were foully violated, then impaled alive, or thrown from the house windows, to be caught on the bayonets held below; or they were transfixed with lances and so dragged through the streets,—mothers, with their babes, thrust into oil casks, which were then set on fire. In Magdeberg itself no greater atrocities had ever been committed; yet Pope Pius thought not of laying ban or interdict on the brutal leader of his troops; but on the contrary, appointed him for his "heroic conduct" in this affair to the rank of general of brigade.

armed antagonist. It was, therefore, impossible to retain the Legations and the Marches of Ancona, after 1859, when the Austrians in the last Italian campaign were forced to evacuate Milan, and therefore abandon the papal territory; the population had immediately risen in revolt, the papal troops were defeated, and the provinces have since then belonged by their own will to King Victor Emmanuel. In one word, our own time clearly proves the temporal power of the pope could be maintained over no rood of ground unless supported by foreign armed intervention; that if the French troops marched out of Rome and took ship at Civitia Vecchia for France, within twenty-four hours of the event Pius IX. and all his cardinals and high priests, spies, sbiri, gendarmes, and even his model army, would be cleanly and completely swept from the land.

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As the popes of modern times govern (or mis-govern) as their forbears of old, so they resemble them in every other regard. To take their interpretation of "apostolic poverty," for example, can we find any sign of change therein? In any early page,* in referring to the annatæ, pallium, and various other usurious sources of revenue, enjoyed by the Roman curia, we called attention to the fact that these "nomination," or "promotion taxes," were still exacted even at the present time, though now assuming the form of a "fixed tribute," we, therefore, scarce need say anything more on the subject. Every appointment, every nomination to a higher grade in the

* Vol. i., book i.

hierarchy,—if a bishop is made an archbishop, or cardinal, the promotion, as of old, originates with the pope, or at least receives his ratification, but neither the ratification nor the promotion takes place without a "consideration"—a premium in hard coin—and the old sin of simony still flourishes as of yore. So is it with "dispensations," "canonizations," the trade in relics, and the like charlatanry, whatever name it may bear. In all these, the pope of to-day is as his predecessors were in centuries gone by, though he may possibly conduct the business with somewhat more regard to decency than they thought requisite. Even the sale of indulgences has not been abolished, though every thinking man acknowledges it as the most infamous of all papal schemes for extracting money.

"What!" cries the reader, "can one still, for a certain round sum, get quit of one's misdeeds?" Assuredly this is so, for we even find Leo X.'s "Taxa sacræ pœnetentiariæ" (papal price current for sins) still accepted, though the whole enlightened Catholic world denounces it as a shameless and blasphemous contrivance for plunder. Certificates of indulgence may yet be had by those who will pay for them, though they are no longer hawked about the world as in Tetzel's days; the requirements of outward decorum are now far more respected, especially in those countries where, by juxtaposition with the reformed church, their neglect might endanger the interests of Catholicism. Even the Great Plenary Absolution, the year of jubilee, has descended to our times. The popes, ignoring the general public opinion which declares such an institution not only an offence to mo-

rality, but even ridiculous, have celebrated it every twenty-fifth year, as decreed by Paul II., anno 1470. In 1800, the festival was prevented by the political troubles in which Europe was involved. There was, as we have seen, indeed, no pope, as it were, existent, or no pope in Rome, and who had any influence in the world; but twenty-five years later, Leo XII. (1823-29) resolved, in spite of all opposing considerations, to revive the great pilgrimage to Rome, that had so long fallen into abeyance. In his brief to this effect, dated 24th of May, 1824, he declared—

"It were a sin to longer deprive the chosen people of the great boon of the Jubilee Year, which they were obliged to forego in the year 1800," and he therefore invited all Christendom to visit Rome, "that city so peculiarly favoured and sanctified by God." The festival was actually celebrated as it had been of old, and opened at the hour of early vespers on Christmas eve, the 24th of December, 1825, with due observance of all the usual ceremonies, and amid the enthusiasm of the Romans and a vast multitude of strangers assembled on the occasion. But it was soon apparent, to the sore tribulation of the Holy Father, that the greater number of foreign pilgrims were mere "beggars and vagabonds, pickpockets, pimps, and loose women;" and Leo XII. then published a new and more energetic appeal to the faithful, that they "should not neglect this opportunity of securing a full and complete remission of their sins." He even prolonged the period of the jubilee until 1827, that "decent and moral persons, and persons of influence (those, doubtless, who would not fail at the offertory)," might

be induced to come in place of the multitude of paupers by whom the charitable institutions were over-crowded. But all was in vain, mankind refused to be transplanted back into the dark ages; and throughout Germany, Spain, Poland, and France, the Great Jubilee passed quite disregarded. Even the superior classes in Italy held aloof, and thus the primary object, that of filling the somewhat reduced papal coffers, totally failed. Yet this failure did not deter Pius IX. from preparations for celebrating the same festival in 1850; but then ensued the troubles of 1848 and 1849, and the peaceful celebration was, of course, as impossible as it had been in 1800. Pius, in 1848, was obliged, as we have seen, to turn his back on his states, and he did not re-enter them until 1850, and then not to reign in peace and goodwill over his subjects. Times had strangely changed; not even the prospect of the rich harvest the Romans had always reaped from the Jubilee, could now reconcile them to their ruler. Pius comprehended not their perversity; but what could be done? Modern popes have been more successful with Peter's pence, that other great financial resource of the Roman Curia (of which we have already spoken at length), than with the Great Jubilee. Though Peter's pence is no longer what it was in the middle ages, when furnished by so many European nations, though it cannot take the form of a legal tribute due to Rome, the offering, or alms, is now understood to be a purely voluntary one, made to the so "oft sorely pressed Holy Father," and, as the clerical party lay great stress on its "voluntary nature, it may not be out of place to consider for a moment if this gift really

merit such title, or if it does not originate in a certain moral compulsion?* It will be answered, the amount given is at the will of the giver, that no one is subjected to compulsion, for in the very freedom of the offering is affected to be shown the deep devotion to the Holy Father implanted in the heart of the Catholic. But, regarded from another point of view, in nearly every place where collections are made for the pope, do not priests and monks, even nuns and sisters of charity, go from house to house exhorting the faithful to offer their mite on the altar of the church? And is not every one who refuses to subscribe according to his means denounced and persecuted as an enemy not only of the pope and the papacy, but of the Catholic church and doctrine? Such are the facts regarding the "voluntary system" in most places, though, of course, they do not apply in every instance. Yet, be this as it may, assuredly the revenue from Peter's pence is not less profitable at the present time than in bygone ages, whilst the popes assuredly exhibit no diminished "ardour in the collection" of the tax. To take but a single instance, and one furnished by our own time, the total thus brought together in the year 1860 amounted, according to the "Giornale di Roma," the papal official organ, to no less a sum than 7,700,000 francs, whilst, during the early months of 1861, the United States, with Chili, Peru, and the other republics of central America, alone furnished to the same fund 4,500,000 dollars. Such piles of hard silver assuredly refute the arguments of those who would prove the present "poverty and hard straits" to which the

* See page 71, vol. i.

Apostolic throne is reduced; we grant, however, that the partisans of the pope grow silent when questioned on the application of these revenues, for are they not employed in the greater part for any but canonical objects? These vast treasures are expended in paying the brigands and ruffians by whom southern Italy is infested; they are expended in creating obstacles in the way of King Victor Emanuel, who would unite Italy as a great, free, and peaceably governed country; in supporting the cause of the king of Naples, driven from his throne by subjects wearied of his despotism and barbarity; and in the endeavour to resuscitate the middle ages with all their monstrous abuses and anomalies, and to replunge the world into the darkness, ignorance, and degradation which enveloped it four hundred years ago. Under such circumstances we need not wonder that the blind adherents of the papacy so urgently demand the perennial flow of the "Denarius Petri."

Thus the popes, in all their "apostolic poverty," remain the "popes of old;" nor less so in the exemplification of "apostolic humility." Since 1814, when Pius VII. was again recognised as Christ's vicegerent, all his own and his successor's efforts were directed to the reconstruction of the ancient authority of the Pontifex Maximus, and to make Rome the central point, the pivot of the Catholic world. The task was assuredly a mighty one, for its success demanded the re-establishment in men's minds of that faith in the apostolic sanctity of St. Peter's representatives, so completely swept away by the French revolution; or, in other words, that they should think and believe but as their forefathers

had thought and believed four or five hundred years ago. Certainly a mighty task; rather, a superhuman, or even an unattainable one. Still the popes lost not courage; they recalled the great examples of those who had once occupied their throne, and made facts of things impossible. The claims of humanity, honour, or honesty could necessarily find no great recognition in such achievements; but this had mattered little when the end were but obtained. Pius VII. was faithful to the old traditions, and made it one of his first duties to recall an order into life which for many years had proved a chief support of the papacy. The Order of the Jesuits had been abolished by Clement XIV., in 1773, "throughout every country of Christendom as generally noxious and offensive to Christianity;" but Pius VII. felt that only by its aid, by the aid of men the chief, most relentless opponents of enlightenment, men who would hesitate at no falsehood, no perjury, no crime, if they might thus gain their object; he felt that only through them could the apostolic throne be made secure again; and he, therefore, called the order once more into activity by his Bull of the 7th of August, 1814.*

* Under Clement XIV. the Jesuits were treated even by the papal party as a veritable devil's brood (Teufelsbrut), whom it was necessary to destroy in the interests of self-preservation; Pius VII. was, however, a devoted admirer of the "society;" and in his Bull for its reconstruction lauded not only Jesuit "learning," but Jesuit "morality and piety," two qualities which assuredly had not till then been discovered. He deferred to the unanimous desire of all sovereign princes, and of the whole Catholic world to see the order reinstated, and declared that the vox populi is even the vox Dei. At the close, however, he permitted the true reason of his thus conjuring the "black horde" from the grave, to be perceived:—"We should be guilty of a heavy offence against God if we

It was not in 1814 that Pius VII. first so thought; ten years previously he had established the Society of Jesus in the island of Sicily, with the approval of the bigoted King Ferdinand of Naples, who had sought refuge there from his rebellious subjects on the mainland, and Pius immediately afterwards, though in secret, applied to various other Catholic sovereigns to ascertain if they would, or would not, agree to the revival of the forbidden order. It thus happened that the step ventured on by the pope on this famous 7th of August excited not only little surprise, but the children of Loyola found even a favourable welcome in very many European countries immediately on their formal reincorporation. By their wealth (preserved from earlier times), by their political cunning, by their recklessness in the means they employed, they soon regained the power and influence they possessed at the date their order had been forcibly annulled; and there is now no country, either in the old or the new world, where, either openly or secretly, with or without the sanction of the government, they have not fixed themselves, so that, within a few years they have again grown all-powerful once more. Every where, even in those lands where the majority of the population was Protestant, they had

scorned and rejected the aid of these experienced and able pilots, who offer themselves for the guidance of St. Peter's bark through the stormy waves which threaten shipwreck and death every moment; and we therefore decree, in the plenitude of our papal authority, that this Bull, both within our own and every other European land, shall be duly respected, and neither subjected to the judgment nor revision of any judicial authority under penalty of the wrath of the Most High and of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul."

and have no little influence, both through their public missions and their secret emissaries, by whose aid the theatrical eloquence cultivated by the society is brought to bear on the masses. In wholly Catholic countries they were and are personages of the greatest importance,* through their assumption of alone possessing the secret by which the revolutionary element can be kept down. Thus grand were the results of the step taken by Pius VII., on the 7th of August, 1814.

Still was the Holy Father unsatisfied, and having succeeded with his Jesuit movement, at once applied himself to a resuscitation of the Inquisition. The Inquisition had furnished, as we have seen in an earlier chapter, one of the chief props of the papal power, wherefore, then,

* After the dissolution of their Order in 1773, the Jesuits had continued, under lay designations, to maintain their corporate existence intact, and succeeded, moreover, in preserving the greater part of their vast wealth from confiscation. On their re-establishment by the pope, they immediately received the recognition of the king of Naples, the duke of Modena, the king of Sardinia, and of the other Italian princes. Twelve months later, May 29th, 1815, King Ferdinand of Spain restored all the property and privileges of which they had been deprived in 1767, whilst within the same period they obtained official acknowledgment both in Bavaria and Austria, under the title of Redemptorists. They gained a footing no less firm in Switzerland and Belgium, where they contrived to secure the direction of popular education. Even in France, though excluded by law, they yet obtained toleration. But they chiefly spread themselves throughout the United States, where a number of educational establishments were founded by their care, and we need not say they became naturalized in the various states constituting the southern half of the new world. They were naturally excluded from Protestant lands, yet this was so but nominally, for they gained admission under various other titles to well nigh every Court, whilst they carried the propaganda among the people by the notorious "missions," which have offered so much to the comments of the periodical press of late years.

should he neglect its services. In the states of the Church, his new inspiration was easily realised and set in practice, for there the pope was not only chief priest, but king. In August, 1814, a general inquisitor was appointed, and the noble institution constituted as the supreme judicial tribunal, under the title of the "Holy Office." Its spies soon spread throughout the land, penetrated every family circle; and all who gave the slightest cause for suspicion were at once seized and thrown into the dungeons of the sacred tribunal. The offences under its cognizance were specified (somewhat unnecessarily). They were—"blasphemy, immorality, disrespectful conduct towards the Church, non-participation in its festivals, neglect of its fasts, and especially abandonment of the true faith." A general edict of the 4th of May, 1829, set forth that all persons possessing books of an heretical character, or by writers of known heretical tendencies, whether the said books were kept in their own or other persons' domiciles, should be "dealt with as those who had fallen from the faith;" from this instance, we may sufficiently conceive the wide field left to the discretion of the inquisitors. We learn by the same edict that any person "who should give cause of offence by act or word, or 'threaten so doing,' to any of the familiars, witnesses, accusers, or spies of the Inquisition," should thereby come within its jurisdiction; and the pope directed positively all his sbirri, gendarmes, and public employés, to assist the servants of the Holy Office in securing such offenders. To fill up the measure of horrors, Pope Pius VIII. further decreed that whosoever overheard a word of blame

uttered against the Holy Office, or, still more, whosoever witnessed an offence against its judicial authority without at once denouncing that which he had heard or seen, should thereby become amenable to the same penalty as though guilty of the original offence. In short, the Inquisition of modern times was the same dread institution which, a few centuries back, spread terror and desolation throughout Spain and the southern provinces of France.*

But, as it is our duty to relate the truth without reserve or exaggeration, we are bound to record a certain distinction, though but a solitary one. For fear of too seriously awaking the wrath of outraged humanity or provoking the intervention of the European powers, the Inquisition forebore to erect its stakes and faggots as of old, but only employed, as we learn by a regulation dating from 1856, "excommunication, confiscation, ba-

* The secret spies and agents of the Inquisition were especial cause of terror to the subjects of the pope, for in no social or family circle could impunity be insured, but that one of the number was present to listen for the first incautious word, and denounce the speaker. Their members were recruited from every grade of rank and social position, from the highest and the lowest alike,—women forming no inconsiderable proportion of the whole! Strict secrecy was maintained regarding the names of these vile tools of tyranny, from the universal hatred and detestation with which they were regarded. But the very infamy of their trade brought peculiar privileges, besides the liberal salary accruing from it. Like priests, the spies were exempted from the jurisdiction of the civil courts, so that if taken in the act of committing the most flagrant crime, the grand inquisitor could demand the person of his agent, and, under pretence of judging the case himself, at once set him at liberty by a free pardon. That he employed this power we may well believe, or his instruments would have soon grown disgusted with their occupation.

nishment, imprisonment for life, especially with application of the lash and secret execution in heinous cases." In this wise, the Inquisition has flourished in the pontifical states; and, up to the present time, its activity has never for a moment slept in those provinces still subject to the apostolic throne.

Though the popes were successful in setting up again the worst terrors of a past age within their own territories by means of this institution, despite all their efforts, they have failed to obtain its introduction into other European countries. Everywhere, in France, Germany, Portugal, the Holy Father's applications were rejected; even the Italian princes resisted, at least for some time. Only Ferdinand VII. of Spain, the most bigoted of bigots, obeyed the behest of Rome at once, anno 1814, appointed an Inquisitorial Junta, and established the Holy Office in all its ancient glory. But even under such auspices it could not exist, and was formally dissolved by the Cortes in 1820; re-established by the reactionary party in 1826;—it was finally,—we will hope for ever,—abolished in 1835. Whilst Spain, to the sore tribulation of Gregory XVI., shook off the degrading bondage, His Holiness had the satisfaction of inaugurating it in Sardinia, Modena, and Tuscany, where the tribunal was invested with the same powers as in the states of the Church. This was a great triumph for heaven's vicegerent, but the triumph was short-lived: Sardinia awoke to a clearer understanding of moral obligations, and, in 1847, drove out the inquisitors, and confiscated the entire possessions of the tribunal. The moment of deliverance for Modena and

Tuscany came later; for, in the latter state, the Madiai, husband and wife, in 1852, were condemned to the galleys by the grand inquisitor for their conversion to Protestantism. With 1859, however, the dungeons of the Holy Office were at last thrown open, the inquisitors took flight, and their tribunal definitely closed. Thus, with the exception of Rome, the Inquisition exists no longer in any corner of the world; but, for this, we have assuredly no cause of gratitude to the popes; had their wishes triumphed, its fires would still blaze bright throughout Christendom in the cause of orthodoxy.

As the fiat for the re-establishment of the Inquisition nowhere found obedience, the popes sought other means of making good their intrenchments against the attacks of the spirit of enlightenment, too well perceiving that the very existence of the papacy was incompatible with it.

They asked themselves: whence came these new ideas, and, more than all, whence came this heresy, "this desire men exhibited to repudiate the papacy," and they knew there was but one answer: "From no other source than the sacred Scriptures, the 'Word of God,' as the heretics entitle them." Then in the "Word" lay the great danger, for whoso studieth the Word must perforce have his heart turned from the whole system of the Roman hierarchy. It behoved them, therefore, to forbid the dissemination of the "Sacred Word" and emulate Pope Innocent III., who, in flagrant contradiction with the ancient doctors of theology, declared, "That the Holy Scriptures were an incomprehensible

book even for learned men," or the further example of Innocent IV., whose decree, published in 1244, proclaimed: "All translations of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue of any country should be given to the flames." From this, the deduction was, of course, inevitable: that the perusal of the Bible must lead to heresy, as the reader would either wholly misunderstand, or not understand it all, and therefore it was a crime for a good Catholic to have a Bible in his house in the language of his country. In pursuance of this idea, Pius VII. published a brief on the 20th of June, 1816, addressed to the archbishop of Gnesen, in which he emphatically declared the Bibles translated by heretics as "forbidden," and denounced the distribution of bibles (by the Bible Society) in the most unmeasured terms,* whilst he warned every Catholic, under pain of excommunication, never, under any circumstances, to employ such a bible. Again, in pursuance of this idea, Leo XII. issued an encyclical letter to Catholic prelates on commencing his pontificate (May 3rd, 1824), in which he declared the bible distributed by the "Bible Society" as nothing other than a monstrous fabrication, or rather, "Gospel of the Devil," and that it was consequently the first duty of a bishop to warn his flock from these pestilent inventions. In pursuance of this idea, Pius VIII.

* In his wrath, the pope went so far as to declare that the English Bible Society was a "contrivance of wicked cunning, which would undermine the very foundations of religion, a pestilence for humanity, a foul blot on faith, a soul-imperilling institution, a new kind of weed sown by the great enemy," &c., &c. From these excited words, the reader will perceive how menacing to the papacy the enlightenment proceeding from the Bible appeared.

and Gregory XVI. even ordained that "these pestilential books should be given to the flames;" and finally, Pius IX., in his allocution to the cardinals in 1860, declared the French and other vernacular bibles perversions of God's word and manifestly spurious. "Away with the Scriptures" was the motto of the papacy, and inevitably so, for the atmosphere of freedom breathing from their pages threatened to scatter into space the fragments of the dry mummy of Sacerdotium; therefore, woe to the bishop who should offer any resistance to the artificial darkness, the same fate would attend him from which the noble Wessenberg suffered in 1827, when excommunicated for his services in the cause of the Bible.

Notwithstanding all this energy, the prohibition of the Bible did not work satisfactorily. The more the dreadful book was made the subject of warning and denunciation from the confessional, the pulpit, and the orthodox press, the more eager grew the people to get it into their hands, and another panacea grew requisite to keep the papacy from utter collapse. But in what was this panacea to consist. "No herb groweth that will cure death" (Für den Tod ist kein Kraütlein gewachsen), says an old proverb, and the papacy already, at the close of the eighteenth century, was stricken well nigh unto death; was so enfeebled by age and utterly abject that its last hour seemed, indeed, close at hand. Where, then, was this herb to be discovered, which, as a young Bathsheba, should restore the aged David—the tottering pope dotard to new vitality. Long and wearily did the Romanists ponder on this hard problem. They found

no help, no answer but that the popes had grown old, or rather, that they remained what they had ever been, whilst the world around them was all changed and vigorous with new youth.

The people—the masses—neither respected church nor papacy (no wonder, indeed, when the guardian monks were absent); the ban and interdict had lost their terrors; princes and rulers, enriched by the secularisation of vast tracks of land once forming episcopal and monastic endowments, now claimed a voice in the disposition of bishoprics and clerical charges, of which the pope had had the sole bestowal, thus robbing the Holy Father of his royal prerogatives; the very secular clergy became inoculated with modern ideas, no longer obeying every beck as of old; it had even come to pass that they openly resisted certain ordinances of the Roman curia, and found support in their resistance from their temporal rulers. All this it was necessary to change, if the papacy were to stand. The priesthood must be again made docile, the influence of the temporal powers over ecclesiastical appointments and the clergy cease, and the religious views of a bygone age revived, that men might bow down in the dust before the Vice-God at Rome. This was the glorious goal; but how could it be attained? Simply, through the concordate. What is a Concordate? Our readers have seen the word so often in newspapers, heard it so often in conversation and argument, that it may seem superfluous to let its explanation detain us; but as, perhaps, a vague conception merely of its full import exists in

the minds of some who may open these pages, we must grant a few moments for its explanation.

Literally, a Concordate signifies "a treaty, or mutual bond of peace and amity," from the Latin word concordia; but, historically, it exhibits a very different character; a Concordate is, then, a treaty between a temporal sovereign and the head of the Roman church, for the determination and settlement of ecclesiastical questions. The first concordate of which we have any record was that made by Calixtus II.* with Kaiser Henry V., in 1122, for the settlement of the dispute concerning episcopal investiture; and in the following centuries many similar concordates were concluded. They were always regarded in somewhat as an amicable arrangement entered into by two antagonistic powers: in some instances the papal, in others the temporal, or worldly side, obtaining the chief advantage from the arrangement. In illustration we may cite the concordate between Pope Martin V. and Kaiser Sigismund I. in 1418, the Vienna Concordate of 1447, that between Francis I. of France and Leo X., 1516, that between Pius VII., in 1801, and Buonaparte as First Consul. In all the pope appears as the recognised supreme head of the church, and the temporal contracting power as the supreme head of the state concerned. In external character one concordate precisely resembled another; but in their purpose there was great diversity; the pope was often obliged to resign certain prerogatives in one country, and therefore sought to make them good by additional

* See vol. i., p. 230.

privileges in another where the government was more tractable. Such is a brief history of the concordate; but, brief as it is, the reader may observe, none of these sacerdotal treaties were ever framed but for the purpose of more satisfactorily determining the rights accruing to the head of the Catholic church.

Every temporal sovereign, therefore, who becomes party to a concordate, by renouncing all power in ecclesiastical affairs, or retaining only so much as the said treaty specifies, admits the pope into his dominions not only as co-regent, but as an independent rival potentate.

The assumed object of a concordate occasionally takes another aspect. When one is under discussion, the freedom and independence of the church is, according to Rome, the sole end contemplated; she declares:—"We Catholics demand nothing but self-government for our religious and ecclesiastical interests, and they who refuse us this violate our consciences." Such is the language of the Romanists; and many are the dupes such and the like plausible phrases have made; but we would merely ask, in reply, with whom in the Catholic church rests the management of ecclesiastical affairs? With the general body of the faithful, or with the pope as its head? The answer is concise enough:—"the pope alone is endowed with this right, and Catholics, like good subjects, must obey." When, therefore, religious self-government is demanded for the Catholic church of any country, it is that this government may devolve on the pope, or, in other words, "that the pope and the hierarchy devoted to him may there exercise despotic autho-

rity." The "freedom and independence of the Church is made a mere euphuism for the papal imperium. Indeed, in no concordate is there any question of "faith, or ritual observances:" the sole purpose is, to determine to whom the patronage of the higher sacerdotal dignities belongs, whether to the pope, or the temporal sovereign? to whom appertains the appointment of the lower clergy: to the bishop or the state authorities? whether the state shall have a consultative voice in the event of the pope founding within the country any new religious institution, or reviving one fallen into desuetude; if it is authorised to interfere on the pope's directing his employés, the clergy, to conduct the religious instruction of the people in this or that manner, or exercise the like right on his subjecting a subject of the crown, irrespective of the immediate cause, to any ecclesiastical penalty." The purpose proposed by the popes in these treaties is thus clearly manifest. They sought nothing less than to make good their position in the state as an independent power, served by its own army of officials (the clergy), and whose decrees should be as binding as those of the national government.

Such, indeed, is the character of all papal concordates; how, then, is it, that temporal sovereigns still entered into them? They must have been aware that in doing so they abandoned certain prerogatives properly belonging to their office, and, in self-interest, ought to have rejected all overtures of the kind. They must have been aware that for the regulation of the internal religious affairs of a realm, it was not requisite to invoke the assistance of a "foreign" power notoriously intent

only on self-aggrandisement. The fact was patent, and yet we find in nearly every European country the popes attained their end. The Jesuits, with all their tact, were at hand to guide the necessary negociations, and by the Jesuits was the triumph secured. Most easily, indeed, in wholly Catholic countries, especially when these were under a pure monarchical absolutism, such, for instance, as Austria, Naples, Modena, Tuscany, Sardinia, &c., &c., for papal and monarchical despotism generally go hand-in-hand. Moreover, might it not be hoped that the foul fiend of democratic enlightenment would get effectually exorcised by an all-powerful sacerdotium? Greater difficulty was met with in those Catholic countries where a parliament could demand a voice in the matter; as we find exemplified in France, when the concordate, made between Louis XVIII. and Pius VII., in 1817, was modified in various points on account of the popular indignation it excited, though the pope still profited enough by the transaction, for he was empowered to create eighteen new episcopal sees, retaining, of course, the right of presentation to them. The concordate concluded between the same pontiff and Ferdinand of Spain was subjected to still more important modifications, and after successive amendments, imposed by the Cortes, finally came into activity in 1845. A like fate attended the concordate with Portugal; whilst only in 1847 did Russia consent to enter into one for the kingdom of Poland. The kingdom of Bavaria proved far more docile, for there a highly satisfactory arrangement for Rome was effected as early as 1817. In the Catholic cantons of Switzerland still more devout submission was

exhibited; for the cantons, on the fall of Napoleon, regained their political independence only to sink under the degrading thraldom of Rome. But not Catholic states alone entered into these treaties with the popes; others, where the Protestant element greatly predominated, proved not less tractable, as did Prussia in 1821, Hanover 1824, &c., &c. In short, the popes so prevailed by their able representatives, who left no means untried, whether of fair words, bribery, gallantry (Catholic mistresses played no unimportant part in the negociations) until, in the end, but few countries in Christendom remained free from a concordate, and, moreover, of a very effective kind. There seemed even a hope that those few lands (Protestant Switzerland alone, perhaps, excepted,) would yield, and, with such a triumph secured, the papacy would have been again as firmly established as before the Reformation.

Does the reader, growing perhaps sceptical, demand how it is we attribute so much importance to these concordates? But it is only requisite to observe somewhat attentively the internal condition of a country in which such a treaty is in operation to be at once convinced our assertions are justified. The first result of such a treaty was, in every case, the restoration of the monastic establishments abolished at the time of the French revolution, and the rapidity with which monks and nuns sprang up to fill them might well have appeared miraculous. Some few of the contracting states had strictly fixed the future number of the new institutions to be erected; but in the majority, free scope was allowed to the "craving of humanity for the cloister," or rather to the mediæval ten-

dencies of the pope and his hierarchy; and even in the former case, Rome found means for cultivating the serge gowns to a high degree of perfection. For were not those new institutions founded, which, though differing in form, were alike in principle with the earlier monastic orders,—institutions which, presenting themselves under names of such touching simplicity, one might well fear being regarded as a barbarian on refusing to give them the welcome they so meekly craved. We would remind the reader of the "fraternities" and "sisterhoods of Charity,"* whose members, though under no monastic vows, yet form a redoubtable corps in the great papal gendarmerie.

Their statutes authorise a return to secular life at any moment, for are not the communities "free!" but the moral compulsion exercised by the constitution of the

* The Brothers of Charity were originally a French Order. (In Italy, they are called "Fate ben Fratelli.") They were originated in 1540, by Johannes di Dio, as a lay society for the care of sick persons. In 1572, Pope Gregory XIII. constituted them into an organized mendicant order, under the rules of St. Augustine. It extended its ramifications over Europe with surprising rapidity, numbering in 1585 no less than 224 monasteries. In 1634, the celebrated Frenchman, Vincent de Paul, conceived the idea of adding "sisters" to the original order, and with the aid of a pious widow, Madame Legras, he called into existence, for the mitigation of human suffering, the free communities known as Filles de la Charité, or Sœur Grises, from their grey robe. The popes naturally granted their full sanction to the new order, and Clement IX. accorded to it, in 1655, the same rights as those enjoyed by the Frères de la Charité. The French revolution brought the complete dissolution of both branches of the Order, then widely spread throughout Europe; but in 1807, it was re-established in France, and five years later in Germany. From thenceforth, however, it no longer bore a monastic character, becoming "a free society for attendance on the sick in the great hospitals" and the education of the poor.

order and still more by the initiatory vows (the novice swearing to devote his or her future life wholly to the service of God, by tending the sick and needy), renders this privilege a mere illusion. The "brothers" and "sisters" are, to all intents, really monks and nuns. They have greatly increased, especially in France and Austria,* within the last thirty years. The devoted tools of the Jesuits, they pursue their office of sick nurses and teachers as a contrivance to disarm opposition and secure a wider field of operation. In this purpose, they have completely succeeded; there is scarcely a country in Europe where branch institutions have not been established, and, from reliable returns, we find that the Order contains not less than 80,000 active members;† we may thence conclude how great must be their influence over the lower classes, with whom, almost alone, they come in contact.

* We would beg the reader to consult the various details contained in the public prints (Viennese), for 1859-60 regarding the Sisters of Charity in the Wiedener Hospital, at Vienna, from the official reports published by the Austrian government, subsequent to the investigations ordered by it; they will dissipate any doubts on the real tendency of this society.

† The hospital of St. Lazare, in Paris, represents the chief seat of the Order whence the various regulations for the branch establishments originate; there are 300 of the latter in Paris, 831 throughout the French provinces, in Belgium 301; Spain numbers 179; Germany, 98; the Netherlands, 75; Sardinia, 67; United States, 51; Ireland, 42; the kingdom of Naples, 27; Switzerland, 11; the states of the Church, 26; making in all, 2,008, whilst those in Tuscany, Modena, Hungary, Bohemia, and Portugal, in the absence of precise returns, are quite omitted in the computation. Granting that each branch establishment numbers, at the minimum, forty active members, the total will amount to 80,320, and if to this were added an average proportion for the countries omitted, it would rise to not less than 100,000.

Moreover, the Benedictines,—Dominicans, Carmelites, Augustines, and the Franciscans and Capuchins, especially called into life again by Pius VII., increased not less rapidly than the Brothers and Sisters of Charity. The pope feeling that the so-called learned orders would be of small service, or even prove injurious to his cause, gave every care to the extension of his light infantry corps,—the mendicant friars, who, since their first incorporation by Innocent III., had stood the papacy in such good stead. These men, who ate from the same platter with the peasant, and kept all the female consciences in their respective districts, were now to form the pope's standing army, and gain greater triumphs for him than were ever won by the best disciplined troops for a mere temporal sovereign. Throughout France, Spain, Austria, Naples, Tuscany, Modena, Portugal, Bavaria, Ireland, the houses of the begging fraternities arose once more in all their former glory; and in some places, especially in Tyrol and Bavaria, it was scarcely possible to walk ten paces without meeting one of the brown-frocked fraternity. In those countries where Protestantism formed the dominant creed, as in England and Prussia, the Roman high priest none the less laboured to restore those mediæval institutions in them to vitality, much to the wonder of all thinking men. If to all these achievements we add the re-establishment of that far more terrible Order, of which we have already spoken, —the Jesuits, who, as Ligurians or Redemptorists, penetrated where, as Jesuits, they could not have found entrance, it will be evident that the popes have raised their influence to a marvellous height in the brief period since

its resurrection in 1814. All this was still insufficient, but the Pontifex Maximus knew well how to avail himself of the further concession secured by the Concordate—that, namely, by which he had appropriated the right of appointing all bishops and archbishops, for he bestowed the pallium or episcopal mitre on none but those in whom he could place complete reliance. The task of finding safe candidates among the higher ranks of the priesthood was no difficult one, so attractive were the prizes offered; but it would seem a far more onerous matter to bring the great mass of the lower clergy into devotion to the papal interests. Rectors and curés found themselves far better off when under the protection of the state than if wholly dependant on the head of the Church and the ecclesiastical dignitaries appointed by him. When, moreover, Pius VII.'s first concordate was signed, the humbler ranks of the hierarchy throughout central Europe, and France and Germany especially, had become infected with the liberal ideas represented by a Dalberg, a Messenberg, and others of their class; and it could not be ignored at Rome that whilst "such" men occupied the pulpit, and conducted the religious instruction of the people, the papacy would take no firm root again. The "horrible" French revolution, the still more horrible pest of enlightenment, had reacted on the very priesthood of the Catholic Church! Aye! and there were even men within it, however dreadful the admission, who publicly asserted it would be far more salutary for the Church in each country to be subjected to a local jurisdiction instead of receiving its canons from Rome.

Of what avail was it that the bishops had secured the right of appointing their diocesan clergy when the whole body was monstrously anti-papal. With the present generation, clearly nothing could be done; they were, and must remain inoculated with the venom of enlightenment. But how stood it with the future generation, the candidates of theology in the seminaries and universities, from whom the succeeding rectors and curés must be supplied, were they not susceptible of influence? Too young to possess any very firm principles, might they not be so educated that the Holy Father should become the cynosure of their devotion? The idea was surely excellent, and the pope at once took steps for its realisation. By the concordates, he had obtained the right of supervising public educational institutions, and watching that no evil spirit found entrance therein. What was then easier than to decree, for every Roman Catholic college, for every seminary and gymnasium, the immediate dismissal of those professors whose ideas were not quite according to the papal standard, and fill the vacated posts with Jesuits, or Jesuit admirers. Such a scheme could not be immediately effected—governments and people might have taken alarm; the work demanded tact and caution; but Rome was not built in a day, and that which could not be achieved between a dawn and sunset might still be accomplished within the next: so the plan of appointing only such preceptors for the young priest who would work according to the views of the papacy and obscurantism was rigorously carried out; and within a few decades, the partisans of Rome might proudly assert

that in no high school, gymnasium, or university, of any concordate land was there a single professor appointed who could act in opposition to their will, although the new preceptors were sometimes objects of ridicule to the world, both for their ignorance and boorishness.* The instruction in the physical sciences, German literature, still more in general history, was given on a plan wholly inadequate to the demands of modern advancement in science and critical knowledge; but what of that? if the so-long-yearned-for goal were reached, and the young priest wholly imbued with a devout belief in the pope and papal supremacy, by renouncing the use of his own reason exalted the dogma of the sole, saving Church.

Thus having made sure not only of bishops and archbishops, but of the priests and deacons, it was at length possible to act upon the people, and indoctrinate them with the spirit, by which alone the papacy can be sure of existence. "Let thought be abolished, for only when the masses are steeped in stupidity can they be governed."

* It was customary in many concordate states for the Jesuits to appoint persons to professorships without any previous examination, so we may conclude how grossly unsuitable many of the appointments would be. It thus happened that at a well-known university the professor of the ancient languages, from the secular character of his duties, had enjoyed a liberal education, and venturing on one occasion to cite the poet Goëthe's style as an example of artistic perfection, was therefore denounced by his Jesuit superiors as a heretic to the diocesan bishop; one of the said fathers characterising the author of "Faust" as a "worthless, vile fellow" (Schlechten Kerl and Saumagen). Such language is a fully sufficient indication of the intellectual standard prescribed by the members of the "society," without any other examples.

Such has been the language of the younger clergy since then, and they have found the most energetic support from the monks and nuns. Secular clergy and monastic fraternities emulated each other in their labours for the papal objects with the lower classes, and soon succeeded in persuading their penitents that Catholicism and the papacy are one and the same thing.

Woe, then, to him who attacked the assumptions of the bishop of Rome; woe to him who laid an irreverent finger on the papal system; but more than all—woe to those who dared deem the temporal power of the Roman high priest unnecessary to mankind,—they were summarily denounced as men bent on the destruction of the faith itself. Just as the country schoolmasters were the mere thrals and bondmen of the local priesthood, to whom they owed unconditional obedience, so were the preceptors of a higher grade impressed with the subjection owed by them to their bishop. They were even made to feel the curb more sharply than their humbler colleagues, for their position was of more moment to the great end: "the suppression of every spark of free inquiry or scientific research in the rising generation," so that, in after years, it might labour—ad majorem dei gloriam—for the papacy and the Jesuits. Assuredly the atheist, the denier of God, was far more worthy heaven in the eyes of these blind fanatics than he who ventured to give an incredulous smile to the mad pretensions of this papal incubus.

Hand in hand with the dissemination of this belief went the spread of superstition. In moral teaching, or Christian discourses, it was not in such things the

younger clergy held religion to be forwarded, but in attendance at mass, bead telling, invocation of the saints, pilgrimages, processions,—in outward ceremonial merely, which made thought superfluous. At the same time, we can readily understand the perusal, or even the possession of a Bible in the vernacular, was not only stringently forbidden, but even treated as a crime; a species of literature was invented and distributed, in great part gratis, which, though replete with the most ridiculous absurdities, was yet well calculated to fill the people with enthusiasm for the papacy and priesthood.* In short, every possible means were tried to suppress the intellectual activity which had begun to stir in men's brains during the first years of the century, as though it were amenable to such laws, and, together with the faithfully orthodox, could be transferred back to the middle ages.

Ways and means of working on the people to this effect were not wanting; the church and the confessional supplied them; whilst, moreover, the curés, the friars, and the Jesuits made their way into every house, into every family, and thus privately gained over the men, and still more completely the women, brought under their influence. The chief reliance was, however, found in the public schools, those especially which the children of the poorer classes attended. The Jesuits well knew that feelings implanted in youth can rarely

* If the reader has a taste or liking for such literature, he need but visit a (continental) place of pilgrimage, the Einsiedeln monastery in Switzerland, for example, to obtain dozens of such invaluable pamphlets at the cost of a few pence.

be eradicated afterwards; they, therefore, studiously endeavoured in every concordate land to implant the deepest reverence for the papacy in the minds of the children. With secular knowledge, or its simplest rudiments, they in no manner concerned themselves; they would have prevented their charges, if possible, acquiring a habit of thought, and to this end they directed the country clergy to keep a strict surveillance over the schoolmasters, lest they exceeded their duties, and taught things unsuited to the youthful mind. Arithmetic, geography, natural history, vanity of vanities! Of what use for man's salvation is geography and natural history? To recite the rosary and know the credos well by heart, were of far more service! Therefore, no foolish worldly conceits, but plenty of pious matter learnt by rote, especially religious legends, &c.; all else was purely superfluous; or, at the most, reading and writing might be tolerated.

So were the schools conducted in all concordate states; and we thus find that, after a dozen years of such sacerdotal management in France, Austria, Bavaria, Spain, not to speak of Italy, the temporal authorities unanimously complained seventy or eighty per cent. of the population could scarce read or write, and that in many localities the ignorance, stultification (Verdummung), and superstition prevalent, had attained a depth scarce conceivable in the nineteenth century.

Even this was insufficient, and the higher dignitaries of the church laboured to extend the same "godly" system for the benefit of the more educated classes. They, therefore, made it an indispensable condition in

these favoured lands that the preceptors at gymnasiums, middle schools, &c., should have been baptised and educated as an orthodox Catholic. The government authorities well knowing that many branches of learning cultivated in such institutions, such as geometry, physics, natural history, philology, had no connection with theologic dogma, would have often appointed Protestants distinguished for singular attainments in any of these studies, but the higher clergy declared, in obedience to papal command, that it could not be suffered, or disorder would ensue to the whole educational system. Certain zealots even prophesied that such acts on the part of the government must bring about the end of the world, and positively demanded an exclusively confessional (*i.e.*, Roman Catholic) basis in all educational appointments. The temporal authorities yielded in nearly every instance, perhaps for the sake of peace, or conscious that having given up one point there was no alternative but to abandon the second also; and it thus came to pass that the middle schools and gymnasiums in well nigh every concordate land, retrograded into much the same status they had held in the middle ages. "It sufficeth, said the Jesuits, if the lads imbibe enough Latin for the mass, and learn the 'Te Deum laudamus' and 'Gloria in Excelsis' well by rote." In pursuance of this system, every professor, though of undoubted orthodoxy, was carefully watched, and many of the number had to wait on their diocesan for instructions in the composition of their lectures.*

* Professors of the physical sciences found themselves in a singularly embarrassing position, forbidden as they were to state anything at vari-

Under such conditions, is it strange if, in the concordate states, the so-called educated classes possessed but a mere superficial varnish of instruction, were without energy, moral elevation,—even without religion, for the ceremonial worship enjoined on them assuredly did not deserve the name; whilst the mass of the people throughout the rural districts were indolent, drunken, and very, very degraded. But if such were the evil consequences of their educational system, the Romanists heeded it not; they had this advantage, such men would little concern themselves for papal assumptions, still less question their right. Yet were the popes unsatisfied with even this victory; they were bent on renewing the old contest with those who had abandoned their fold. From time immemorial their watch word had been, "Extirpation of heresy;" that throughout Christendom but one church should exist, with the pope as its supreme arbiter.

With such advantages gained over the Protestants as

ance with the text of the Old Testament. For them, therefore, the earth was but 6,000 years old, the sun stood still for Joshua, Balaam's ass spoke, &c., &c. The professors of history were, perhaps, in a yet worse dilemma; they were compelled to use actual falsification; it would have been an abomination in the eyes of a pope to teach the crude truth concerning certain religious and political revolutions. In political history, indeed, the preceptors of youth dared on no consideration keep to mere facts; for example, they must represent William Tell as the chief of a band of rebels, the Emperor Napoleon a general under the Bourbons, and other "facts" according to a like treatment. Republics existed not for them, nor ever had existed; each was made over to some royal ruler or other, and in referring to the wars between the Guelphs and Ghibbelines, the latter were, of course, vanquished in every field. In short, seminarist history was as widely removed from actual events as the merest romance might be.

those the concordates appeared to secure, should they now prove untrue to that watch word they had so long followed out with fire and sword?

The most conclusive reply was given by Pope Pius VII. in the renewal of the notorious Bull "In cœna Domini," to which we have already referred at some length. For fourteen years it had been read from no pulpit, and men might have thought the popes themselves at length acknowledged the Almighty would too much resemble mere bigoted humanity were He to make salvation depend on the observance of certain outward forms, and, for the neglect of these condemn nine-tenths of the inhabitants of earth to everlasting tortures, whilst the favoured tithe entered Heaven. But Pope Pius VII. was little disposed to such latitudinarianism, and, on Maunday Thursday, 1815, solemnly, with his own lips, doomed to everlasting punishment all heretics, Catholics, Jews, Mahometans, all, in short, who were not prepared to worship him the vicegerent of Christ upon earth, in the manner prescribed by the terrible Bull, "In cœna Domini." Since then, except in the year 1849, when the pope was a fugitive, no Maunday Thursday has gone by in Rome without the "great heretic excommunication" being celebrated with all imaginable pomp. In this, too, have we not the clearest evidence how the popes of the present age are faithful, as in all else, to the traditionary "Christian charity" of the popes of the past? yet a multitude of other edicts and procedures are not wanting to prove it still more fully. Thus, for instance, Pius VII., on September 13, 1821, fulminated the great anathema against the Car-

bonari, whose liberalism, political and religious, but ill-accorded with the views of a pope: his successor, Leo XII., excommunicated the whole order of the Freemasons, and banished its members for ever from the states of the church. The two last-mentioned pontiffs, with Pius VIII., Gregory XVI., and Pius IX., acted still more harshly towards the Jews, who, to this day, are treated at Rome as lepers—vile outcasts from common humanity. None of the race may reside in any other part of the city than their appointed quarter, the "Ghetto;" and intercourse with Christians is strictly forbidden them. If a Jew is proved guilty of buying or selling anything employed in the celebration of the Catholic worship, the salver, chalice, breviary, rosary, crucifix, &c., he incurs a fine of 200 scudi. Like severity is employed against those who quit Rome without permission from the Holy Inquisition; whilst death would await the wretch who, on the evidence of two witnesses, was proved to have insulted, either by word or act, the Catholic religion, or one of its ministers. The Jews within the papal territory are beyond the pale of the law, and to this day the command of the Holy Inquisition is in force by which any Christian doctor summoned to a patient in the Jew's quarter is bound, in the first place, to attempt his conversion; but if the Jew prove obdurate, then abandon him to his fate without more ado. To fill up the measure of wrong and absurdity, three or four Jewish children are forcibly taken from the Ghetto every Monday in the year to be sprinkled with holy water in a certain church, and so made into Christians. It would be difficult to imagine any-

thing, perhaps, more revolting to every feeling of justice and decency than this last custom,* which even rivals the arbitrary tyranny of the middle ages.

If the popes of the present age act thus towards Jews, we need not anticipate they will show greater favour to Protestant schismatics. Indeed, the reformed faith is far more offensive in the papal estimation than Judaism, or even Mohamedanism, in accordance with the old proverb: "Family feuds and brother-hate gnaw deeper in the heart than the strife of strangers." Therefore, though the Holy Father professes in the first place to gently lead back the strayed ones to the "sole saving church," his second and chief resource (to which he unfailingly recurs if conversion cannot be effected) is, as it will remain, the extirpation of the heretics. The monks are chiefly charged with the conversion of Protestants, but the Jesuits undertake this duty in favour of the higher classes, especially for the petty reigning princes, their consorts, and children; the conversion of the lower orders of society falls almost entirely to the mendicant friars with the brothers and sisters of charity.

The begging monks have free ingress into all penal establishments in countries under a concordate, and em-

* The story of the young Mortara is a case in point. He was, as the reader will remember, the offspring of a wealthy Jewish family, stolen away by the priests during his parents' absence in Modena. The affair made a great noise at the time, but for this reason only, that the Mortaras, as English people, were ill-disposed to submit to the wrong. Their brethren in the Ghetto discreetly hold their peace when their children are taken away; for, firstly, any complaint they know well would be unavailing; and, secondly, the slightest indication of disaffection would bring them into acquaintance with the dungeons of the Inquisition.

ploy the right chiefly to induce those inmates, unfortunately heterodox, to embrace Catholicism, under some delusive promise of a pardon or remission of sentence to be facilitated thereby. They make themselves not less familiar with the orphan asylums than with the prisons, and their efforts are untiring until any of the helpless little charges born of Protestant parents have declared themselves ready for "reconciliation" with the orthodox church. Great is the rejoicing when such a child, though, of course, quite incapable of independent judgment on such a question, has been "wrested from the claws of Satan;" but abroad the missionaries breathe no word of the promises and threats employed to gain this result. Brothers and Sisters of Charity use still more questionable means than their colleagues, the "Mendicants," for the propaganda in the hospitals, when the bodily and mental exhaustion of the patients are alike worked on by their arts to draw forth the consent to a return into the bosom of the church.

Instances without number are but too notorious in which the pious brethren and sisters, emulating the conduct of the Holy Father at Rome towards the Jews, have refused all medical assistance to Protestant sufferers, or otherwise neglected them, until they had promised to abandon their heresy. Thus is proselytism carried out under a concordate; Protestants, too, are liable by its provisions to heavy penalties if guilty of perverting a Catholic from the orthodox creed, or the heinous sin of giving a Protestant Bible to a person baptised in the Roman church.

To fill up the measure of justice, the popes have gene-

rally introduced a clause by which, if Protestant parents adopt Catholicism, their children, if under age, are naturally understood to do so too; whilst if, on the contrary, the parents change from Catholic to Protestant, their offspring must remain of the former faith. Such is the religious tolerance recognised by the popes.

We thus see how Romanism makes its work of proselytising as light as possible; but if, despite the zeal with which it is pursued, the schismatics prove obstinate, all the gentleness exhibited until then is at once thrown aside, and the soft-voiced, mild-eyed ecclesiastics are suddenly changed into avenging demons, intent on the utter eradication of Protestantism. Assuredly the faggots no longer blaze round the stake, for the arm of the temporal power refuses to come in aid to such extreme measures, nor can the popes preach crusades against heresy; but are there, then, no other means of forcing Protestants to forego the open confession of their faith, and even effecting their social ruin?

The chief contrivance to this end is a systematic calumniation employed unscrupulously by the popes and their underlings. In districts inhabited both by Catholics and Protestants, pamphlets and tracts are distributed in which Protestant belief is described as an actual renunciation of Christianity and morality, so that good Catholics must shudder at the very sound of the word Protestantism.

The crudest falsehoods, the most shameless misrepresentations, are employed to awaken the horror of true believers for the pestilent heretics; the very children at the village schools are made to cross themselves

when Luther's name is uttered. Luther, Calvin, Zwingle, and all such men, are represented as the incarnate spawn of Satan; and to leave no doubt on the subject, a wood engraving is, perhaps, introduced at the appropriate place, exhibiting Luther or Zwingle roasting in hell, under the superintendence of certain long-tailed devils.*

The second means adopted for the riddance of Protestantism is in the "isolation of its professors." From the time of the Thirty Years' War, Protestants and Catholics lived in the same district† in perfect good neighbourhood and mutual tolerance, or even in mutual friendship and the closest social ties. This was, of course, not universally the case, especially where the Catholic clergy exercised much authority; but in the all-pervading spirit left by the French revolution even

* Our space forbids our entering into any details of these defamatory writings; but we cannot resist citing a few passages from the "Amico del Popolo" (for 1861), a journal published under immediate favour of the papal censorship, and intended, as its name indicates, expressly for the masses. We translate the text literally:—"In what does Protestantism consist?" Answer. "In believing what one pleases, and acting as one believes." Luther's morality is contained in the following maxim: "Sinner, fear nothing, and act as it best pleases thee." "As Satan was once sitting on his throne, Luther appeared before him, knelt down, and cried: 'Thou art my master and my faith.'" "Among all the madmen on earth, is there one more mad than Luther?" Answer. "None." "Luther was persuaded by Satan to abolish the mass; need any one then question if Protestantism is the work of Satan, as it indeed is?" "Did not Luther make the devil his doctor of theology? and are there yet men, even Italians, who are so iniquitous as to give themselves over to Protestantism; *id est*, the devil?" Thus the papal "Friend of the People" for 1861 takes the field against the reformed faith; we may spare any further evidence.

† The author here, of course, refers to Germany.

this last obstacle to the duty of toleration had been, if not abandoned, at least greatly modified, and the best reciprocal understanding existed in the mixed communities. Mohammedanism grants the exercise of their religious rites alike to Christians and Jews, should then the followers of Jesus, who claim a higher standard of morality than these of any other religion, still indulge in mutual rancour because, in certain minor points, they differ in opinion, not necessarily in any important dogma, but merely concerning outward forms and observances. Such was the question men had asked themselves since the beginning of the nineteenth century, and felt humiliated in recalling the religious wars, for life or death, of earlier years. But the popes having recovered from their fall, and achieved the "concordates," a very speedy end approached to this religious concord. "Protestants belonged to a far too-degraded section of humanity," so declared the bishop of Rome, "for Catholics to hold intercourse with them as with equals. As heretics, the Catholic heaven is closed to them; how then can they pretend to any form of equality?"

In accordance with these principles, the orthodox priesthood closed their churches and burial-grounds to the Protestants, and even refused to celebrate mixed marriages. "Mere social intercourse with heretics" was declared "dangerous," for "the air breathed by a heretic is pestiferous." If, in mixed communities, such intercourse cannot be avoided, it must not assume any character of friendship, still less to result in that closest of unions—marriage." "The solemnization of mixed

marriages" in concordate states was therefore either positively refused by the priesthood, or when the government had been resolute enough to forbid such a refusal, accordance was only granted under such conditions that a Protestant could scarcely submit to them. A formal agreement had to be entered into, that every child born of the marriage should be educated in the orthodox faith; and in the oral confession required of the Catholic before the ceremony, he or she was made to promise, under terrible menaces of eternal punishment, to employ every possible means for bringing the Protestant helpmate into the bosom of the "sole saving Church." But it was after the ceremony that the chief work began, when the Catholic was persecuted and adjured until the desired conversion was effected, or, as it more frequently happened, all home confidence and happiness completely destroyed between the pair. Not even in death was peace accorded to the detested union. No Catholic priest would allow a Catholic to lie at rest by the side of a Protestant—a pariah of the faith.*

Under such conditions, it was assuredly a heavy trial

* Some few years since (1857), a Catholic (State Councillor Staatsrath) died in Vienna; he had occupied a high social position, and though his wife was a Protestant, the union had been a singularly happy one, for he had permitted no priestly meddling. Wishing to be still unseparated in death, the Staatsrath directed in his will that a space should be left for his wife in the vault made for him. Within two years, she also died, and the executors desired to fulfil the husband's wishes, but the Catholic rector of the parish refused his permission, emphatically declaring that a Protestant could not share the same grave with a Catholic. When such a man is subjected to these regulations, we may well imagine how little regard would be paid to the feelings of the lower classes.

the Protestants underwent in remaining faithful to their belief.

The third panacea against Protestantism is the banishment of its adherents. Since they cannot be murdered, then "drive them forth from the land; away with them, unless they consent to be converted." This remedy is a thoroughly radical one; but it can only be employed where the Protestants form an insignificant minority; for, in the contrary case, it might lead to very unsatisfactory consequences. "Open violence" is (as we have before observed) always avoided, if possible, for it is best not to excite public attention; but there are ways of harrassing individual members of a community that they will at length depart by their own free will, and any compulsion is unnecessary. Among the multitude of examples before us, does the reader, perhaps, recall the method adopted with the people of the Zillerthal in Tyrol? A certain portion of the inhabitants of this lovely valley it is well known, wander far and wide, selling gloves and various other articles of their home manufacture, and they thus cannot avoid frequent contact with Protestants. The consequence followed that some of the number carried the Bible home, and having diligently studied it during the leisure hours of winter, doubts arose in their minds on various points of Catholic dogma, such as papal indulgences, masses for the dead, purgatory, saint worship, &c., &c. They yet made no formal act of cession from the Catholic church, only grew somewhat lax in attendance at mass and the confessional, but the priest soon penetrated the whole truth, and the proceedings adopted in consequence during

1826-27, when the unhappy people found themselves marked for general obloquy as heretics and schismatics, until all peace was utterly destroyed.

The "black dragoons" (Pfaffen), we use the word with regret, but such priests merit no better epithet, so excited all the good Catholics in the valley, that the accused were in danger of being punished under lynch law. Still undaunted, and but the more convinced they possessed the truth, the fiercer rose sacerdotal wrath against them; in 1830, two hundred and forty publicly declared their resolve to renounce Catholicism and enter the Reformed church. They appealed shortly afterwards, 1832, to the Emperor Francis, then at Innsbruck, demanding the protection due to them under the sixteenth article of the German Bund. The emperor, a goodnatured man, promised them their demand, and the heretics of the Zillerthal were supremely happy. But they had reckoned without their host, or, rather, without the priesthood and pope, and the latter (Gregory XVI.) issued a formal protest against the "discord created by the infamous heretics within the Tyrol previously so devoted to the faith," and demanded the expulsion of the offenders. What course did the easy-tempered kaiser adopt? Was it worth while to commence interminable negociations with Rome for the sake of a few heretics? Assuredly not; so the Zillerthalers were enjoined to secure their immediate reconciliation with the church, or depart to Transylvania, whose inhabitants were of mixed confessions. They naturally hesitated in submitting to either alternative; but the priests so excited the bigotry of the Catholics around, that the persecuted victims were

in danger of having their roofs burnt over their heads. Convinced, at length, there was no other resource but to bargain, as the Saltzburgers had done a hundred years before, they despatched a deputation to the king of Prussia to entreat from him some place of refuge. Their petition was immediately accorded, and, to the great joy of the priests and their orthodox flocks, the Zillerthaler Protestants, with the women and children, numbering three hundred and ninety-nine in all, turned their faces from their much-loved home in August, 1837, and wandered, for conscience sake, to commence a new existence under a northern sky. Need we other illustration of the meaning of the word tolerance as interpreted by the pope and his priesthood?

War! war to the heterodox was the watchword of the church in every country which had entered into a concordate with Rome, until the very word "concordate" (compact of amity) grew the veriest irony. Never will a wearer of the tiara recognise the right of existence to any party which does not bow down to "him," and thus every treaty proposed by the Holy Father can have no other purpose than the subjection of those who have confided in him. Therefore, now and for ever, war, not peace—persecution, not toleration—hate, not love—are the fruits of a concordate wherever Protestants are subjected to its influence, for the coexistence of the papacy with a system of toleration were an impossible paradox.

But the popes go much further in countries where Protestantism has no recognised existence; we find complete religious freedom loudly demanded by the Catho-

lics wherever Protestantism is the state religion, often founding the demand with Jesuitical cunning on the ground of "common humanity." But how does the demand appear if reversed, and the same freedom asked for the reformed doctrines? Then all question of "humanity" is ignored, all sufferance even repudiated. Does the pope permit any Protestant vassal within the states of the church? or in any of the "good Catholic" countries—Spain or Portugal, Mexico, Chili, Peru, Brazil—or does he allow a Protestant church to be built, or a Protestant community organised? Protestantism, as a religion, has "no right to existence;" it is merely a rank, poisonous weed that cannot be tolerated without endangering the safety of all the sound plants. In these "purely" Catholic states, it is therefore, in many instances, prohibited, under the same penalties as robbery and murder. There was only yet left to place a pair of the black-gowned conscience-keepers with the customs' officers at every barrier along the frontiers, to prevent not only the entrance of a Catholic traveller, but even of Protestant ideas. The reader will, doubtless, feel incredulous, but he need only visit one of these favoured lands to find the truth of our assertions. These abuses grow still more monstrous when the government of the country actively espouses the policy of the priesthood, for then a system of repression is established, as though the end of the world were imminent. The truth of our assertions is best exemplified by events actually occurring in Tyrol. The Emperor of Austria, under the pressure of modern ideas, published for the whole em-

pire some months ago,* the so-called "Protestant statute," by which his Protestant subjects were to be secured for the future in the enjoyment of the same religious liberty as the other inhabitants of his dominions. Thus, then, was permission accorded them to settle in Tyrol, organise their religious communities, and even erect their own churches. A monstrous possibility truly; but what did the higher Catholic clergy to avert the abomination? They resolved to make the kaiser retract the offending statute, and, to this end, contrived to bring the whole country into a ferment of excitement. A petition was drawn up, showing "that the existence of Protestantism in Tyrol was an *impossibility*;" and the monks carried the petition round to every house and homestead from parish to parish, until it attained to quite incredible proportions, for to have refused signing it would have incurred denunciation as a heretic. Neither threats nor promises, indeed, were spared in obtaining signatures; even school-boys were made to attach their names to swell the list. "The whole land, according to the bishop of Brixen, the trusted friend of the pope's confidant, Cardinal Rauscher, "would rise as one man against the admission of Protestants, in order that the emperor might turn back from the road of perdition on which he had entered." Nor was this enough; the bishop brought forward a motion in the Innsbruck Provincial Chamber to the effect that Protestantism should be for ever "prohibited" within Tyrol, and carried it through in triumph;

* In 1860.

the best proof how oppressively monkish tyranny weighs on the land. But neither the monster petition nor the vote of the Chamber had any effect, for the imperial government paid no regard to either the one or the other; but if the Romanists failed on this occasion, we are none the less enabled to see their policy in it; and how, reader, can we believe that the popes and their partisans can ever be "other" than that they have ever been?

No, and again no! They change not, and will never change ("Sie sind aud bleiben die Altens!"

CHAPTER III.

CONCLUSION.

Two hundred and fifty-nine popes have successively occupied St. Peter's chair, irrespective of the numerous anti-popes who contested its honours, yet, in the whole number there have been, how few pious Christians or even honourable and upright men! The majority were distinguished by an ambition and grasping avarice, in the gratification of which no means were for them too infamous. How many added thereto a licentiousness and demoralization of which the present age affords no example. All, without exception (since the bishops of Rome became popes), exhibited a spirit of persecution and intolerance which sometimes reached to a very climax of insane bloodthirstiness. During a period extending over several centuries, their power over Christendom grew well nigh absolute, then gradually sank again lower and lower, until, like a spent lamp, it seemed to tremble on the verge of extinction. The world believed itself relieved of the incubus, and breathed more freely; but a little while, and so the flame flickered up once more, growing stronger and more strong until it seemed the very same that had shone athwart the dark

ages. Was it really so? Was it, indeed, the self-same flame which had exhibited the strange property of spreading darkness instead of light, and instead of strength, the chillness of death? Or was it a mere ignis-fatuis suddenly springing up to disappear again for ever? We, for our part, must hope the latter is the true solution, for that the papacy has outlived itself, no man can doubt; and it is time it should meet the fate of all earthly things. If it were reformed, brought into harmony with the spirit of the age, reconciled with the advance of science and enlightenment, then, and then only, could we believe in its lasting vitality. But up to the present moment, and the later popes especially bear out the fact, has not all amelioration for the papacy proved an impossibility? They assuredly could not ignore the mighty progress achieved by humanity within the last seventy years; but what have they done during the same period? Retrograded in a still more marvellous ratio. Engrossed in the endeavour to resuscitate the middle ages—ban and anathema, clerical celibacy, begging monks, the Inquisition, persecution of heretics, all restored, as though 1789 and 1860 had never existed!

Even the present pope, though described as a singularly amicable and gentle-hearted man, is but what his predecessors were; even he has attempted to play the thunder-launching Innocent, and would make the world believe an attack on his temporal power were as deadly a heresy as if directed against the doctrines of the Church itself.

But what will come to pass if the papacy prove inca-

pable of rehabilitation? Will the nations return to the belief, or rather to the superstitions, of the middle ages, as the pope would have them, or will they emancipate themselves from papal thraldom, and cast the whole institution into the sea that flows over all that has been and can be no longer? Assuredly not the first, for so lasting a retrogression were impossible; nor yet the second, perhaps, for why should violence be used against a foe whose death can be calmly awaited? Of what avail, moreover, would it be to enter into a controversy with one predetermined to bate no tittle of his assumed rights? Henceforth it were surely wiser for each Catholic country to quietly enact those religious changes and reforms found necessary, wholly regardless of the Holy Father. His wrath would doubtless be terrible; he might even threaten the end of the world—but the crisis would pass over in complete tranquillity. In such a policy lies the basis of a "national church," to which every nation must sooner or later have recourse, for has not each the same right to organise its religious as its political institutions, according to its own peculiar requirements? Catholicism, the Catholic doctrines or "dogma," might still be preserved intact, though such a reform would prove fatal to the papal system and the papacy!

"Folly!—dreams!" will be the answer given to our assertions, and for a time that answer may seem well founded; but is not the dawn of this "indifference for the papacy" already making itself evident, and evident, too, in many lands. Switzerland inaugurated the good work, as we must acknowledge to its honour. For cen-

turies, mutual hatred and rancour, carefully fostered by Rome, and often carried into fanatical excess, divided the Catholic and Protestant sections of the population. At length the federal government, strengthened by the events of 1848, determined to assume the right of regulating the ecclesiastical affairs of the cantons through the deliberations of their representatives, though the pope refused his sanction, and should even threaten the worst thunders of the Church. The work was at once commenced—the Jesuits banished, despite the protests of Rome—a barrier put to sacerdotal pretensions—all religious confessions placed on a footing of equality—and every citizen, irrespective of creed, invested with the like rights and duties. Since then the best understanding has been maintained between the Catholics and Protestants; and every Switzer, whatever his faith may be, now blesses the moment when the strife fomented by the pope and his creatures was put an end to by the law.*

A like good fortune awaits the people of France if the

* Rome naturally neglects no opportunity for sowing the seeds of religious animosity; thus the paritatic town of Clarus, which had been almost entirely destroyed by fire, was a short time since visited by a certain Father Theodosius, who at once demanded that the Catholic part of the population should build a new church, that they might isolate themselves from the Protestants, for there had formerly existed but one place of public worship, used alike by Catholics and Protestants. But the honest Clarians replied: "Our Protestant brethren are suffering from the same calamity as ourselves, and to mitigate it, we shall stand by each other in our common misfortune, and by our united efforts build up our united church, where we may together seek encouragement in our future hopes and endeavours." Such was the befitting reply, and the cunning emissary of sectarian discord retreated with his humiliation as his reward.

present emperor remains true to the path he has entered on, though such a triumph cannot be secured without a hard struggle, the French hierarchy, naturally devoted to Rome, possessing great influence over the lower classes. The famous "Four Articles of the Gallican Church," by which the management of local ecclesiastical affairs was in great part removed from the hands of the pope, are still proudly recalled by the lower ranks of the French clergy, the majority of whom would assuredly stand by the government if the latter were inclined to extend "indifference" for the pope into an abandonment of the papacy to its fate. But of far greater moment than the internal ecclesiastical policy of Switzerland, or France, even, is the position of Victor Emanuel, the new king of Italy, towards the pope, in his proposed adoption of Rome as his capital, and consequent annihilation for ever of the temporal power "of his apostolic majesty." What would be a pope without his earthly dominion? An unsubstantial shadow of the popes of yore! No marvel, then, Pius IX. defends his position to the last, and seeks by every means to evade the fatal chalice proffered to his lips; no marvel, also, if the Italians grow conscious that the pope and his cardinals have no longer any basis in Christendom, and acting on this discovery, prepare to do for the future without them.

Of late, the pope has lost not less ground in Germany than in Italy. Baden especially has issued victoriously from the struggle, Würtemberg followed in her steps, and then even Austria, the ancient bulwark of the papacy. A year since (1861), Baden, through the agi-

tations of the Romanists, seemed on the point of concluding a concordate with Rome, by which the power of the hierarchy might have been propped up for another hundred years, for treaties (when convenient) between governing powers are not readily got rid of; but the examination of this treaty had to be submitted to the Chamber, and the Chamber threw it out. The people's representatives knew well the results to follow if the ultra-Catholics got the upper hand; examples there were many, and sufficiently warning examples. Therefore, though Catholics formed the majority, they firmly asserted the right of the state to settle its religious affairs by its own laws, and thus effectually repulsed the pope and his requisitions. The government, acting in the spirit of the constitution, accepted the decision, and earned the gratitude of the whole country,—of all Germany indeed. The like crisis passed in much the same way in Würtemberg, though there the onus of the defence was borne by the Protestants. In Austria, on the contrary, the establishment of the new order of things, *i.e.*, the *de facto* abolition of the concordate, was inaugurated by the "Protestant Statute," the chief purport of which, as we have already had occasion to remark, was to invest Catholics and Protestants with the same legal rights, and which, proceeding as it did from a purely Catholic government, bears so much the greater moral import. Moreover, this resolution of the imperial government was not the result of any outward pressure, it was taken voluntarily, after calm deliberation,—on the ground of abstract justice and sound policy. Are not

these things signs of a great moral revolution, signs to which we can scarcely attach too much weight?

Humanity has taken a greater step in the onward march of progress, but the sublime goal it is its mission to attain lies still far distant. But to reach this goal, "enlightenment and mutual tolerance" are chiefly requisite, and the diligent "removal of all stumbling-blocks and obstacles" that encumber the road thither. Is not the papacy such a stumbling-block, or rather, the main one? Of this we hope the foregoing pages have already afforded sufficient proof; and if our hope is well founded, we can gladly acknowledge that the no little labour incidental to our studies from the Vatican has not been wholly in vain. Though others, we mean the partisans of Romanism "of the black faction," and they are not a few, will judge differently, and cry anathema against us, that we have dared rob the papacy of its aureole and exhibit it for what it is,—a human institution with human sins and shortcomings, human fallibility, and liability to the doom of all mortal things; but we conclude, nevertheless, with honest Blauer's verse, which serves as the motto of this our concluding book:

"Ir G'walt ist veracht,
Ir Kunst wird verlacht,
Ir Lügen nit g'acht,
G'schwächt ist ir Macht,
Recht ist's wie's Gott macht!"

THE END.

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